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ART. I.—COLERIDGE AND SOUTHEY.

COLERIDGE'S *Works*. 8vo. Philadelphia. 1840.

COLERIDGE'S *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. 12mo. Boston. 1841.

SOUTHEY'S *Life of Wesley*. With Notes by COLERIDGE. 3 vols. 12mo. New-York. 1847.

SOUTHEY'S *Life and Correspondence*. Edited by his Son, the REV. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY, M. A. Vol. I. 1849.

COTTLE'S *Reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey*. 12mo. New-York. 1847.

"WE have got *Coleridge's* Literary Remains," says the late Dr. Arnold, of Rugby,* (himself 'a proper man,') in which I do rejoice greatly. I think, with all his faults, Old Sam was more of a great man than any one who has lived within the four seas in my memory." Of *Southey*, said Coleridge, "When future critics shall weigh out his guerdon of praise and censure, it will be Southey the poet only, that will supply them with the scanty materials for the latter. They will likewise not fail to record that as no man was ever a more constant friend, never had a poet more friends and honours, among the good of all parties."—"I know few men who so well deserve the character which an ancient attributes to Marcus Cato—that he seemed to act right by the necessity of a happy nature."†

We venture to produce the above as, on the whole, a fair

* *Life and Correspondence*, by Stanley, 8vo, New-York, p. 288.

† Coleridge's *Biog. Literaria*.

estimate of these remarkable men. The publication of the early parts of an authentic Life of Mr. Southey recalled naturally to our minds that of his early friend—one whom he would have called for some years his Mentor, and his “heart’s best brother.” Each was a public writer from youth to advanced age ; both have been long enough withdrawn from the world, to enable us to estimate them fairly ; not too long for us to feel a vivid interest in them, as members of the great family of English writers who have left sharp and deep traces of their influence on the present age. To the Past do they enough belong, wherever the language of Milton and Shakspeare is spoken, for the maturity of their fame ; while they are sufficiently linked with the Present, to live in the personal recollections of many ; or, to enable us to read occasionally the author through the man of those recollections, as we cannot in the case of those who were in no sense our contemporaries—those of whose habits and idiosyncrasies “the memory of no living man telleth.”

We pair them, and will treat them as a pair, so far as possible ; for Nature and Providence paired them. They began life together, leaving their family connections, respectively, for a romantic personal and literary friendship ; toiled and lingered together over a cherished scheme for life-union ; published some of their first poetry together ; married sisters in the same year ; and alike sustained themselves afterwards and through life by literary efforts. They pair by similarity and by contrast. They were equal in many respects, alike in few. Each soon diverged from the other, but kept him in sight ; they often differed in temper and judgment, but were long, if not finally, jealous *for* each other’s fame, and of any one beside differing with the other. The one had more genius, the other more talent and tact ; one was by universal consent an oracle, the other a critic. One spoke, as by inspiration, of all things high and deep ; the other wrote, in the fruition of immense acquirements, of all things accessible to literary labor. The one was often inexcusably idle, the other always, and often to excess, busy on system. To adopt a favorite distinction of Coleridge’s, the one worshipped the *idea* of all truth, the other was a priest of the *understanding* of it : the one was the greater, the other the better man. A melancholy but instructive parity may be traced through their ‘last scenes.’ Each died at about the same age, having in an unusual way worn out his mind—Coleridge, in part, doubtless, by opium, by lassitude, and by ill-directed (never concentrated) efforts : Southey, by the honorable toil

which, while it secured his independence of the world, prostrated all his noble powers, and left him, for the last two years of his life, utterly imbecile. *Sic est homo!*

Let us introduce to the reader this interesting pair, each in *propria personâ*, and as we saw each in his prime.

The appearance and air of Mr. Coleridge were decidedly clerical: but he soon struck you as 'a king of men.' He well personified "Church and State, according to [his] *Idea* of each."* Without the affectation, or any remarkable professions of seriousness, he sustained, more than any other man we have seen, a serious carriage engagingly. There was a chastened and imperturbable solemnity about him, rising, when he said his best things, (spoke against the philosophy of mere expediency, or asserted the claims of the Eternal Word,) into an unaffected majesty, and the entire *command* of all present. It was never broken in upon, in our hearing; by the utterance of anything foolish or light. We were never in the company of mortal man to whom such a thing would have seemed so utterly unbecoming, or from whom it would have burst upon one, creating so much surprise.

We do not remember to have seen him laugh. It was too gross an expression of feeling for the keeping and comfort of his presence—(that word comfort, by the way, being one which he would often claim as belonging only to 'English hearts and homes.') He was tall, slightly corpulent; had a head whose indescribable promises of mental excellence made all his friends tolerate Phrenology who did not believe in it; and a forehead of surpassing manly beauty. To see him take off his hat, as the writer has done, and address a kind of Improvisatori Hymn to the Sun, as he walked with him down Highgate Hill to the "Great Metropolis," was no faint image of an Apollo unveiling himself. That forehead was certainly such an outwork of power within, as no one that studied it could forget, or would hope to see well copied by art.

Mr. Coleridge, without attempting any peculiarities of dress or manners, was only like himself in these things. While we knew him, he always wore well-made, black clothes—walked always with a drawing-room gentleness and dignity. Everything about him was rotund, impressive, graceful—down to the silk stocking and plastic shoe of his handsome leg and foot. No boot, with or without the modern disguise of pantaloons, was ever drawn over them. It was impossible for any such article to be made that would not have been out of keeping—been as clumsy in its appearance

* The title, nearly verbatim, of a favorite Tract he published in 1830.

there, as a club-foot. After some acquaintance, it would be observed, how much he could engage to his favorite themes the respectful attention of ladies; and that children* were delighted with him. It has been told everywhere, since his death, that men of the highest rank and first attainments in England would gladly assist—might we say, be contentedly the organ blowers?—at his unrivalled Conversations. We were acquainted with a literary man who had been both in Dr. Johnson's and Coleridge's society. He gave to the latter all the learning, command of language, and impressive power of Johnson, with, what he so much lacked, the *suaviter in modo*—uniform gentleness and sweetness of manner.

Mr. Southey had exactly the appearance of an elder son of Coleridge's. There was not a difference of three years between them in age, but twenty in apparent vigor. He, too, was tall; of highly finished and conciliatory address; had a noble, but somewhat thin, Roman visage, prominent, penetrating, and very beautiful eyes, and abundance of black, curling hair. Perhaps he was unusually animated at the particular interview with him which we remember. It took place at the house of his brother, a London physician, where he was called out of a party, to confer on the affairs of Coleridge. He was full of zeal to arrange them to advantage, and spoke very rapidly and eloquently of what his early friend "could do." There was a singular union about him of the man of conscious talent, great adroitness, and profound deference to the claims of his friend. As he was then a much more popular writer than Coleridge, this last feature of his conversation was the more striking. He said, in effect—and seemed to feel—"You know he is the greatest man amongst us all." Gladly, with such a theme, (and such an advocate,) would we have heard him talk until midnight. He stands now before us, the image of activity, facility, and versatility of mind; of urbanity and perfect good breeding:—well-dressed, as a layman; and frequently springing to his feet to enforce his point.

He has given us his own portrait at a little later period, in a way that singularly confirms our sketch:—

Robert the Rhymer who lives at the Lakes,
Describes himself thus, to prevent mistakes.

* * * * *

* We remember his stepping into a house where some prattlers looked shyly at him and ran. "Ah!" said he to their mother, "you cannot enter a sheep-meadow, but the lambs will turn a fine neck and mild eyes on you and scamper off, whatever their seniors may do."

He is lean of body and lank of limb;
 The man must walk fast who would overtake him.
 His eyes are not much the worse for the wear,
 And Time has not thinned or straightened his hair,
 Notwithstanding that now he is more than half way
 —On the road from grizzle to gray!
 He hath a long nose with a bending ridge,
 It might be worth notice on Strasburg bridge.

* * * * *

A man he is by nature merry,
 Somewhat Tom-foolish, and comical, very;
 Who has gone through life not mindful of pelf,
 Upon easy terms, thank Heaven, with himself;
 Along by-paths and in pleasant ways,
 Caring as little for censure as praise.

Our friends meet, in 1794, at Bristol. At Oxford they had previously been introduced to each other, but here they began their poetical and public career. Southey was just coming to his majority; Coleridge, as we have intimated, was two years older, and had not long been discharged from a regiment of horse-dragoons, in which he enlisted in a freak. It might gratify curiosity to learn (we cannot say) whether this fact were at the time known to Southey and his other young friends. Clearly enough they were all just now more '*daft*,' as an Edinburgh Reviewer might have said; more under an enchanter's spell (which pervaded the master-mind as much as all the rest) with regard to their plans for the future, than any number of equally intelligent young men in England. It will account, in part, for Southey afterwards considering the early manifestations of Methodism as a disease of the intellect:—he had started in life under clear symptoms of a disease of this kind, in regard to the greatest civil and moral questions.

Perhaps we ought to look back into the late Poet Laureate's life a little further. He was born at Bristol, 12th July, 1774, his father being a linen-draper in moderate circumstances. Some property of the family had accrued to Miss Tyler, his aunt, and with her, in the neighborhood of Bath, he spent the chief part of his childhood:—slept with her; was compelled to lie in bed of a morning to a late hour, fearful of disturbing her; and with some indulgences, was subject to many privations. On no account must his clothes be soiled, and when he panted to run abroad to Claverton Hill, half a mile across some meadows, it was always "too far for a walk." "I have not a stronger desire," he says in after life, "to see the Pyramids, than I had to visit a sham castle there, during the first years of my life. There was a sort of rural freshness

about the place.”* But this poor little, pensive specimen of an ‘old maid’s child,’ could only “often take” his “seat upon the stone steps,” at the back of his aunt’s house, which looked this way. His chief recreation, at four years of age, was that of accompanying this lady to the theatre, with which she had a pecuniary connection.

Southey’s early school experience, like that of Cowper, (whom he much resembles in the gentle tone of his mind,) was bitter. A perfect tyrant seems to have had the rule of him for a year at Bristol: then he is removed, by his father, to a boarding-school at Corston, in the neighborhood, where his condition but little improves. In his “Retrospect,” written at Oxford, in 1794, he says:

Well I know

The days of childhood are but days of woe;
Some rude restraint, some petty tyrant sours
What else would be our sweetest, blithest hours.

At neither of these schools did he learn much: but he is here only another year, and then (in 1782) becomes once more a resident with Miss Tyler, in a new scene, the house built by his grandfather at Bedminster. Here he spends his happiest youthful days. The house and gardens were delightful: our poet gives us a perfect Dutch painting of the fore court; the little hall and its diamond-shaped flag-stones; the parlor, with its black-boarded floor, and the best kitchen, in which the family lived. “The one which I am now calling to mind,” he says, after an interval of forty years, “was a cheerful room, with such an air of country comfort about it, that my little heart was always gladdened when I entered it. The windows opened on the fore court, and were as cheerful and fragrant in the season of flowers, as roses and jessamines could make them.” Here he becomes a votary of Flora; sincerely loves his aunt, in spite of her oddities; and stays with her, more or less, until he enters Westminster School.

Neither there nor at College do we find any indications of what he was to be. His education altogether was both short and interrupted. He obtains his first Latin, in lessons given three times a week by a Frenchman, at Bristol; then a little more by teaching it at Corston; he could manage Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* when he went to Westminster, but never seems to have had a regular initiation into the Classics. It is, indeed, surprising to find him build, in after years, so respectable a structure of practical and various learning, on the

* Southey’s *Life*, vol. I. p. 33.

slight foundations of his early life. We should tell, however, that he first became an author at Westminster, in a periodical called the *Flagellant*, of which, through several numbers, he was the chief support; that the Masters brought actions against the publishers, and finding him the author of a flagellation on corporal punishment, compelled him to leave the School. His father contrived to place him at Oxford, with a view to his taking orders; but his sympathy with the republican principles now (1793) imported from France, and suspicions of his skepticism in religion, obstructed his way within a year. Singularly was he thus drifting into that visionary and unsettled state of mind in which he first found Coleridge.

Shall we go back a few steps with the latter? He was the son of a clergyman, the rector of St. Mary Ottery, in Devonshire, where he was born in October, 1772. The youngest of a large family, and at nine years of age an orphan, he happily obtained, through some London connections, admission to the Blue-coat School of Christ's Hospital. His early education was thus entirely a *city*, but a sound, one. We can vividly image his ruddy countenance, glowing above the antique blue serge surtout, which all the youthful hundreds here have been compelled to wear for two centuries: beneath was a blue vest, short yellow breeches, and yellow stockings—the whole encompassed by a black leather girdle. No boys have had abler classical masters than have been found in this School ever since its foundation by Edward VI. Our embryo poet and metaphysician made such progress in the classics that in his 15th year he translated the Hymn of Synesius into English Anacreontics, and already had plunged deeply into metaphysics and theology. "Nothing else pleased me," he says. "History and particular facts lost all interest to my mind. Poetry itself, yea, novels and romances, were insipid." But the Rev. L. Bowles' (one of the Masters') Sonnets at length awoke his poetical genius.

He gives great credit to Bowyer, the Head Master of the Grammar department, who early moulded his "taste to the preference of Demosthenes to Cicero, of Homer and Theocritus to Virgil, and of Virgil to Ovid." From him he learned also (what he never forgot) "that in the truly great poet there is a reason assignable, not only for every word, but for the position of every word, and that all poetry has a logic of its own." Mr. B. showed no mercy to phrase, metaphor or image unsupported by a sound sense. They were an abomination to him. "Harp? harp?" he would

exclaim, "Lyre? Pen and ink, boy, you mean! Muse, boy, Muse? Your nurse's daughter, you mean! Pierian spring? Oh, ay! the cloister pump, I suppose." "He sent us to the University excellent Latin and Greek scholars," says Coleridge, "and tolerable Hebraists." All teachers and pupils may ponder profitably the first chapter of his *Biographia Literaria*,* (whence this is extracted,) and the modes of teaching which produce youths of a different stamp—"Boy-graduates in technicals; nurslings of improved pedagogy, taught to dispute and decide; to suspect all but their own and their lecturer's wisdom, and to hold nothing sacred from their contempt but their own contemptible arrogance."

Mr. Coleridge entered Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1791; adroitly avoided "all mathematics"; but obtained a prize for a Greek ode on the Slave Trade, and was an honorable though not successful competitor for the Craven Scholarship. He never took a degree.

We have alluded to his enlistment as a common soldier. It seems to have been in consequence of a premature attachment, according to Mr. Cottle; but we have heard or read of his fondness for "snug sizings," (Cambridge suppers,) and embarrassments thence arising, as the cause. He starts for London, however; and his enlistment bears the date of Dec. 3, 1793. "Suddenly asked my name," he told a friend,† "I answered *Cumberback*; and verily my habits were so little equestrian, that my horse, I doubt not, was of my opinion." As might be expected, he was an untoward recruit: "I shall never make a soldier of him," said the drill sergeant; he could scarcely manage to sit his horse, and never to groom it; but he wrote love-letters for the soldiers, beguiled many of their tedious hours by his stories, and they discharged most of his duties. After he had been missed by his friends about four months, they obtained his discharge, and he returned for three months to College. Mr. Bowles says that his *Religious Musings*, "by far the most correct, sublime, chaste, and beautiful of his poems, meo judicio," was written during his soldier's life in a tap-room. (This fact, however, Cottle in his late *Reminiscences* disputes.)

We rejoin our two poets at Bristol. Here they met to mature a project of uniting as many brother adventurers as they could collect, and forming a Social Colony on the banks of the Susquehanna, Pennsylvania. Robert Lovell, a young Quaker, and George Burnet, a fellow-collegian of

* Coleridge's Works, 8vo, p. 236.

† Mr. Alsop; see *Letters, Conversations, &c.*, of Coleridge.

Southey's, were the only others at this time engaged: all were to be married men; land purchased by their common contributions was to be cultivated by their common labor, which they calculated would leave them abundant time for literary pursuits; the females of the party were to perform all domestic affairs; "and having gone so far," says Mr. Cuthbert Southey, "as to plan the architecture of their cottages, they gave their scheme the euphonous name of Pantisocracy." When their friend Mr. Cottle, then a bookseller at Bristol, asked, "How do you go?" "We freight a ship," said the young Friend, "carrying out ploughs and implements of husbandry." Coleridge used to tell his friends that the spot was chosen on account of "the name being pretty and musical."

Lovell had at this time married a Miss Fricker, of Bristol. A story long current in London was, that it was a portion of their scheme to commission one of the party (we forget which) to purvey for three sisters, as three wives of the brotherhood, and that it was in consequence of this Coleridge and Southey married Miss Sarah and Miss Edith Fricker: of this arrangement no evidence now appears. Southey was engaged to his lady, according to his "Letters" just published, in January, 1795, and now found, to his "surprise," as he states, that Coleridge had made an earlier engagement with her sister. The latter started off again for London, however, before 1794 had closed; "nor would he, I believe," says Southey, "have come back at all, if I had not gone to London to look for him."*

In the interim, Mr. Southey began to feel the difficulties of the Pantisocratic scheme, and that "no dependence was to be placed on Coleridge." A friend, he says, wrote to press upon him "the expedience of trying it in Wales, knowing how impracticable it would be anywhere; knowing also, there was no hope of convincing me of its impracticability at that time."† All the parties were at length short of cash, and much surprised Mr. Cottle by asking the loan of £4 or £5 to pay their lodging-bill. He not only acquiesced, but gave to each of the poets £30 for the copyright of a volume of Poems (to be produced); and engaged to give Southey £50 more for his *Joan of Arc*, already in hand. Thus commenced a friendship between the three of long continuance. Cottle appears throughout alike intelligent and generous: between Southey and him this friendship continued to the death of the former.

* Letter to Cottle, in his "Reminiscences," p. 300.

† Id., id.

The poets now resort to public Lectures as a means of raising funds; Coleridge selecting Politics and Morals, and Southey, History. There was at the time "a great scarcity" in England. Mr. Coleridge one evening, therefore, produced a thrilling effect on his audience by reciting a Letter just received "by Famine from his dear friend Liberty." "Dear Famine," it ran, "I have applied to Gratitude to whisper into the ear of Majesty that it was I who placed his forefathers on the throne. She told me she made the attempt, but had been baffled by Flattery: in proof, she led me to the door of the Court—and behold! every form of 'creeping things.' I was however consoled when I heard that Religion was high in favor there: I had been her faithful servant, she my best protectress. Accordingly, in full confidence of success, I entered her mansion; but alas! instead of my kind mistress, horror-struck, I beheld a painted, patched-up old ———. She was arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, and on her forehead was written, 'Mystery.' I shrieked, for I knew her to be the dry-nurse of that detested imp, Despotism." The whole is in a fine strain of humor. When, lastly, Liberty applied to Conscience, "She informed me," it concludes, "that she was a perfect ventriloquist, but that she was seldom attended to unless when she spoke out of the pocket!" The politics of Coleridge, as this may show, were at this time strongly anti-ministerial; and his opinion of the Established Church (perhaps of all churches) low, to contempt.

Other themes of his Course were ably sketched under a comparative view of the English Rebellion under Charles I. and the French Revolution. His six Theological Lectures were, on Revealed Religion and its political views, beginning with the Origin of Evil, and ending with the Probable State of Society if all men were Christians? His plans exhibit great maturity of mind. Southey's Course of Lectures is also finely planned. Their composition was greatly admired, Cottle tells us, "as well as the grace of their delivery."

But, alas! for the hopes of Pantisocracy! It had not "whipped the offending Adam out" of its votaries. Lovell and Coleridge, in the course of the summer, "met without speaking," and Coleridge gives Southey just occasion of offense by requesting to deliver one of his most important Lectures and forgetting it for his pipe. It has been disputed, particularly by Mr. Gillman,* whether Coleridge and his

* Life of Coleridge, vol. I., (a work still incomplete.)

friends were ever in earnest about the Pantisocratic plan: but Coleridge speaks very seriously about it in his "Friend," and other works; says he owes his "clearest insight into the individual nature of man, his most comprehensive views of his social relations, of the true uses of trade and commerce," &c., to the part he took in it, and was certainly much dissatisfied and irritated with Southey for abandoning it.

Bishop Berkley and David Hartley were at this time much eulogized by him. In his *Religious Musings*, Hartley is styled, "Of mortal kind, wisest;" and Dr. Priestley enrolled with "the mighty Dead," as

"Patriot, saint, and sage."

On all "freshmen" of his acquaintance he urged the purchase of *three* books, "if they would excel in sound reasoning, or correct taste—Simson's *Euclid*, Hartley on *Man*, and Bowles' *Sonnets*."* His beautiful *Monody* on Chatterton illustrates this part of his life:—

O Chatterton! that thou wert yet alive;
 Sure thou wouldst spread the canvass to the gale,
 And love with us the tinkling team to drive
 O'er peaceful Freedom's undivided dale;
 And we at sober eve would round thee throng,
 Hanging enraptured on thy stately song!
 And greet with smiles the young-eyed Poesy,
 All deftly masked, as hoar Antiquity."

Masked, indeed! It involved a famous literary imposition; the discovery of which, connected with the unhappy suicide of its author, created a great sensation at the time, both in Bristol and London. Coleridge was very indignant at Horace Walpole (now Earl of Orford) for speaking of Chatterton as of "the House of Forgery;" and with Dean Milles, of Bristol, the editor of Rowley's *Poems*. "O, ye who honor the name of man," said our bard, in a Note to his *Monody*, "rejoice that this Walpole is called a Lord! Milles, too—a priest; who (though only a Dean, in dullness and malignity *most episcopally eminent*) foully calumniated him (Chatterton). An owl mangling a poor dead nightingale!"

At Bristol, as ever after, Mr. Coleridge was the torment of all the ministers and lacqueys of the press. Cottle would smile and say, "How much copy?" "None to-day," was the general reply; "but to-morrow you shall have some." And to-morrow would bring, perhaps, a dozen lines. The

* Cottle's *Reminiscences*, p. 15.

worthy biblioplist prints several of Coleridge's curious notes.

"My dear Cottle,—The Religious Musings are finished, and you shall have them by Thursday."

Then, perhaps, instead of copy, would come:—

"Dear Cottle,—Shall I trouble you (I being over the mouth and nose doing something of importance at Lovell's) to send your servant into the market, and buy a pound of bacon and two quarts of broad beans.—Will you come and drink tea with me, and I will endeavor to get the etc. ready for you."

Then:—

"Dear Cottle,—A d——, a very d—— has got possession of my left temple, eye, cheek, jaw, and shoulder. I cannot see you this evening."

This is a fair specimen of his habits as an author, and of this was *Southey*—just the antipodes. He once told us, that he had his nine hours a day (the time he allotted to study) marked off, in its engagements, for nine years to come.

Mr. Coleridge was married while America still floated in the distance, as the land of his hopes; but his friend Cottle had promised him something more accessible—one guinea and a half for every hundred lines he would produce, in prose or verse; and he spoke of it as banishing "all solicitude" about the future. His rent was £5 a year, (his house subject to no taxes,) and he *could* produce as many verses in a week as would pay that amount. We will leave him for a while comfortably settled at Clevedon, near Bristol.

The scene of Southey's dream of perfect society was also, as we have stated, the United States, and always connected with views of that domestic happiness which he early attained. It is interesting to observe what at that time he thought of this country. Speaking of an earlier poet, whom he somewhat resembles in genius, and who indulged similar views, he says, (in 1793:) "It was the favorite intention of Cowley to retire with books to a cottage in America, and seek that happiness in solitude which he could not find in society. My asylum there would be sought for different reasons, (and no prospect in life gives me half the pleasure this visionary one affords.) I should be pleased to reside in a country where society was on a proper footing, and man was considered more valuable than money; and where I could till the earth, and provide by honest industry the meat which my wife would dress with pleasing care."

"The wants of man are so very few, that they must be attainable somewhere, and whether here or in America matters

little. I have long learned to look on the world as my country. . . . See me wielding the axe, now to cut down the tree and now the snakes that nestled in it. Then see me grubbing up the roots and building a nice snug little dairy with them: three rooms in my cottage, and my only companion some poor negro whom I have bought to emancipate. After a hard day's toil, see me sleep upon rushes; and in very bad weather take out my cassette, and write to you. . . . Do not imagine that I shall leave rhyming or philosophizing; so thus your friend will realize the romance of Cowley, and even outdo the seclusion of Rousseau; till at last comes an ill-looking Indian with a tomahawk and scalps me."

"In the hours of sanguine expectation these reveries are agreeable; [when] the visions are dark and gloomy, the only ray that enlivens the scene is America."

After abandoning this dream of transatlantic happiness, he was for some time unsettled in every respect. At one time he attended surgical and chemical lectures, with a view to making Medicine his profession. But at the close of 1795 his maternal uncle, the Rev. H. Hill, chaplain to the British factory, Lisbon, arrived in England, and objected, pretty reasonably, to all his plans. Southey confesses that his poetry was at this time a kind of intellectual inebriation: it "formed my destiny, and marred all prospects of rank and wealth; but it has made me happy, and will make me immortal."

We now find him, at the invitation of his uncle, embarking with him for Portugal: having been most poetically married to Miss Edith Fricker, on the very day of his embarkation, (14th Nov.) "My mother," says his son, "retained her maiden name, and wore her wedding ring round her neck, until the report of her marriage had spread abroad." After an absence of six months, Southey returned to Bristol, where he settles with his wife; nobly exerts himself for the maintenance of her now widowed sister, Mrs. Lovell, and sits down to the composition of his *Thalaba and Madoc*. This lady, it deserves to be put on record, found a home with our poet during his whole life, and now lives with his son, the Rev. Cuthbert Southey. During the year 1796 he published his "*Letters from Spain and Portugal*." This casual visit to the Peninsula seems first to have given the impulse to writing both his *History of Portugal* and his *History of the Peninsular War*, works which attest alike his patriotism, his industry, and the versatility of his powers.

At the close of 1796 he became a student of the law, at

Gray's Inn, London ; but though he could 'live like a hermit and work like a horse,' (the two great qualifications for legal success according to a late great Judge,) neither London nor law-books were congenial to his taste. At this period he writes to his wife :—

To dwell in that foul city, to endure
The common, hollow, cold, lip-intercourse
Of life ; to walk abroad and never see
Green field, or running brook, or setting sun !
Will it not wither up my faculties,
Like some poor myrtle, that in the town air
Pines in the parlor window ?

He delves on in the study of the law until the close of the following year ; and has an observation about his industry, which is an improvement upon that of Lord Eldon just quoted : "As you may suppose (Cottle) I have enough of employment. I work like a negro at law, and *therefore* neglect nothing else ; for he who never wastes time, has time always enough." He is even sanguine, at one time, of establishing both his reputation and independence on this basis. To his good friend (we could almost call him his good genius) Mr. Cottle he writes : "I am entering on a way of life which *will* lead me to independence. You know that I neither lightly undertake any scheme, nor lightly abandon what I have undertaken. I am happy, because I have no want, and because the independence I labor to attain, and of attaining which my expectations can hardly be disappointed, will leave me nothing to wish."* Poetry is now subordinated to his professional studies. Madoc will not be finished for two years, and then is to lie by many, for correction.

While residing in London his occasional associates were of the Godwin or Radical school, in politics. Yet he writes in February, 1797 : "My day of political enthusiasm is over. I know what is right, and as I see that everything is wrong, care more about the changing of the wind, lest it should make the chimney smoke, than for all the empires of Europe." His poetical friends were George Dyer and Charles Lamb. With the latter all the lovers of elegant English literature have become acquainted through his own "Essays," or Sergeant Talfourd's biography of him : but the former, who Southey says was "all benevolence," was also the superior of both as a scholar. He was an efficient patron of Bloomfield, author of the *Farmer's Boy* ; and we knew him

* Cottle's *Reminiscences*, p. 150.

the daily private Tutor of an English Duchess, in Greek, and the inhabitant of chambers in St. Dunstan's Inn, more richly coated, inside, by spiders, than any other human abode we have seen. He was also a Dr. Sangrado in diet. Coleridge would tell an amusing story that Lamb gave him. He heard that Dyer was sick, and called. (He had been starving himself on water-gruel.) "Ah!" said George, "I am glad to see you. You will not have me here long. I have just written to my nephews and nieces to come and take farewell of me." Lamb had a coach at the door and prevailed to take him home with him to be nursed. On the way he summoned a medical friend and bought a pound of beef-steaks. When the Doctor entered he felt Dyer's pulse, looked grave, and said, "Sir, you are in a very dangerous way!" "I know it, Sir; I know it," replied the poet. "You will die then, Sir, of atrophy by to-morrow morning, if you do not implicitly follow my directions. You must directly make a good meal of beef-steaks, and drink the best part of a pot of porter." "'Tis too late," said George, "but I'll try." Lamb had in the interim put the steaks in due course of broiling, and the porter on the sideboard. When his alarmed young relatives arrived, Dyer had begun. "Good bye, my dears," said he, perfectly grave, and taking a deep draught of the porter. "You will not see me much longer"—and various mouthfuls of beef-steak interrupted. Taking another draught of the porter, he added—"Mind your books, and don't forget your hymns." "We won't," said a little shrill voice, on behalf of the rest; "we won't, dear Uncle." "He gave them his parting blessing," said Lamb: "I packed up his little pinched-up carcass snug in bed, and after stuffing him for a week, sent him home as plump as a partridge."

Southey formed at this time the acquaintance of Opie, the painter, and husband of the amiable Quaker authoress. He characterizes him as a very extraordinary man—"without politeness, pleasing; and in his conversation, half uttered; half Cornish, half cracked, interesting."

We find none of his biographers accounting for his abandonment of the law, (in 1788,) but he now speaks of having no use for his legal books, except for a bonfire; retires from London, and gives himself to literature and his poems.

Joan of Arc was the earliest of his larger productions. He asks after the first edition (which contained some hundreds of lines by Coleridge) during his first visit to Lisbon: it has been regarded as his favorite poem. Of the period

when it was in the press, he says: "I had as many legitimate causes of unhappiness as any man need have—uncertainty for the future, and immediate *want*, in the literal and plain meaning of the word. I often walked the streets at dinner time for want of a dinner, when I had not eighteen pence for the ordinary, nor bread and cheese at my lodgings. But do not suppose that I thought of my dinner when I was walking; my head was full of what I was composing. When I lay down at night I was composing my poem, and when I rose in the morning the poem was the first thought to which I was awake. The scanty profits of that poem I was then anticipating in my lodging-house bills—but that poem, faulty as it is, has given me a Baxter's shove into my right place in the world." He made more alterations in this poem afterwards than in any other—abandoning the guardian angels and much of the epic machinery, but he never wrote more vigorous poetry than we find in the *Maid of Orleans*. He says himself (of the *Thalaba*)—"There are parts of the poetry which I cannot hope to surpass; yet I look with more pride to the truth and the soul that animates '*Joan of Arc*.' *There* is the individual Robert Southey, and only his imagination in the enchanted fabric."

Madoc was finished during a visit to his friend Danvers, in the neighborhood of Bristol, in the midsummer of 1799: our poet had now fully adopted those habits of close application—"methodism" (if his shade will excuse us) with regard to his occupations, and that early rising, which enabled him to crowd so much literary labor into his life. On the morning of the completion of this work, he brought down to his friend the first hundred lines of "*Thalaba, or the Destroyer*."

Southey was generally just, he was always conscientious as a critic—although he stigmatizes an occupation that obtained him half his fame and more than half his fortune, as "vile reviewing." Rarely, however, have we seen a finer instance of the true sympathy of genius than in his warm praise of Walter Savage Landor's appearance as a poet, in his "*Gebir*," which our bard reviewed in the "*Critical*." He describes it as containing some of the most exquisite poetry in the language, and declares he would go a hundred miles to see the author. There is a concentration of thought and an exquisite finish about this poem (while it is of the same mystic and Oriental character as his *Kehama* and other of his pieces) that readily account for his admiration of it. It is a pattern-poem in these respects; and took a stand-point

of great influence we do not doubt (something like that of Coleridge personally) over his mind. Well does the hesitation of the heroine for language, on meeting Gebir, describe most of the business of Southey's life:—

She had words to speak ;
She formed them and reformed them, with regret
That oft was somewhat lost with every change.
—Moved from their order they would lose their charm.
While thus she strewed her way with softest words,
Others grew up before her, and appeared
A plenteous rather than perplexing choice.

But Mr. Southey's health was now impaired, and Dr. Beddoes prescribed for him a warmer climate. This time he has earned the happiness of taking his wife with him, and Lisbon is again his selected retreat ; with Coleridge's Poems, Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads, and Gebir, as he says, for his whole English library. He arrives early in May, 1800. And here, in the incomplete state of his son's biography of this interesting man, we must for a while leave him, and resume the companionship of his elder brother-poet.

Mr. Coleridge we left at Clevedon, rejoicing with "one friend," (his young wife,)

Beneath the impervious covert of an oak,
where he had

—Raised a lowly cot, and knew the names
Of Husband and of Father.

In his "*Eolian Harp*," dated from this place, he addresses the lady :—

My pensive Sarah, thy soft cheek reclined
Thus on my arm, most soothing sweet it is
To sit beside our cot——
And watch the clouds that late were rich with light.

He proclaims himself the "*Happy Husband*" of another "*Fragment*," and gives us the "*Composition of a Kiss*" which had all kinds of nectar and ambrosia, magic dews and tender pledges in it, when "*breathed on Sarah's lips.*" We do not know two happier lines, to express a father's first feelings, when the nurse presents his "*infant*" to him, than

So for the Mother's sake the Child was dear,
And dearer was the Mother for the Child.

But these, from whatever cause, were among his "*transient*

joys." His marriage was not an ordinarily happy one. Mrs. Coleridge was domesticated with her sister, Mrs. Southey, for long years. The separation seems to have commenced in pecuniary necessity; but both Cottle and Southey regard it as continued when it cannot be attributed to this. The latter, after Coleridge's death, speaks, in self-defense, of having continued all possible offices of kindness to his children, long after he regarded his own conduct with "utter disapprobation;"* the former says to him, in 1814, "Your wife and children are domesticated with Southey; he has a family of his own, which by his literary labor he supports, to his great honor; and to the extra provision required of him on your account, he cheerfully submits; still, will you not divide with him the honor?"†—But we willingly turn from this shaded part of his life. It should be stated, however, that he allowed to Mrs. Coleridge, for some years, half an annuity (£150) settled upon him by two friends, and when one of them withdrew his portion, Coleridge still paid the other to Mrs. C.‡ The first edition of his Poems contains one by Mrs. Coleridge of considerable merit.

The years 1796 and 1797 were among the busiest of Coleridge's life. After a few happy moons, he removed with his family to Bristol; and began to speak of poems, 'the Nativity, not quite three hundred lines;' a 'Ballad of three hundred lines;' and not less than eighteen volumes of various works, some of them in quarto, (according to Cottle,) half of which were never known *in esse*. Soon he thinks "a shoemaker's life more desirable than that of an author by trade. I have left my friends; I have left plenty; I have left that ease which would have secured a literary immortality, and have enabled me to give the public works conceived in moments of inspiration, and polished with leisurely solitude; and alas! for what have I left them? For ———, who deserted me in the hour of distress, and for a scheme of virtue impracticable and romantic. . . . The future is cloud and thick darkness. . . . My happiest moments are broken in upon by the reflection that I must make haste."§

His first volume of Poems appeared in April, 1796. A second (1797) has a Dedication to his brother, the Rev. George Coleridge, which finely touches upon points of his personal history. Of his two brothers he says:—

At distance did ye climb Life's upland road,
Yet cheered and cheering. . . .

* Cottle's Rem., (Letter from Southey,) p. 302. † Id. 270. ‡ Id., 279.
§ Letter to Cottle, Reminiscences, p. 96.

—To me th' Eternal Wisdom hath dispensed
 A different future, and more different mind—
 Too soon transplanted ere my soul had fixed
 Its first domestic loves ; and hence through life
 Chasing chance-started Friendships.

Yet he thus early speaks

Of that divine and nightly-whispering Voice,
 Which from my childhood to maturer years
 Spake to me of predestinated wreaths,
 Bright with no fading colors !

At this time (spring of 1796) he projected 'The Watchman,' a periodical paper which was "to supply the places of a Review, Newspaper, and Annual Register," and appear every eighth day : he published ten numbers. Travelling through the Midland Counties to obtain subscribers, he lectured occasionally on political and philosophical subjects, and occasionally preached. At Birmingham (he tells his friend Wade) "there were about fourteen hundred persons present, and my sermons (great part extempore) were preciousy peppered with politics." At Derby he encounters a brother bard, Dr. Darwin, who was an 'Atheist,' and told him that the objections to religion which he brought forward, "were such as had startled him (C.) at fifteen, but had become the object of his smile at twenty." Darwin boasted (we can hardly think in these terms) "that he had never read one book in favor of such stuff ! but that he had read all the works of infidels." On this Coleridge remarks : "What would you think of a man, who having abused and ridiculed you, should openly declare that he had read all that your enemies had to say against you, but had scorned to inquire the truth of any of your friends ? Would you think him an honest man ? *Yet such are all the infidels I have known.*"* His own lax religious opinions at this period lead him often into the camp of the enemy, and this accomplishes two obviously Providential purposes—showing us what was *there* ; and startling and arousing him to a better mind. We remember, personally, his own account of this part of his life, and his statement of the fact, that it was the direct and rapid propulsion of his mind through the influences of Unitarianism to mere Deism and *toward* Atheism, that alarmed him, and compelled him to seek another road.†

* Letter to Cottle, *Reminiscences*, p. 64.

† This is exactly what we read in his "Table Talk," edited by his nephew, Judge Coleridge : "I owe, under God, my return to the Faith, to my having gone much further than the Unitarians, and so having come round on the other side."

Mr. Cottle's account of our poet's first sermon, in the neighborhood of Bristol, is curious. His text was, Isa. viii. 21, and the discourse little more than a Lecture on the Corn Laws, which he had previously delivered in that city. In the afternoon he entertained the congregation with "a Sermon on the Hair Powder Tax;" one that he proposed to the Unitarian pastor in those terms! At one of his Political Lectures he put down some 'geese,' by observing, "He was not at all surprised that when the red-hot prejudices of aristocracy were suddenly plunged into the cool water of reason, they should go off with a *hiss*."

This journey introduced him to the friendship of Charles Lloyd, son of an eminent banker at Birmingham, who becomes a liberal follower of the bard; returns and domesticates himself with him; and publishes Poems in connection with Coleridge's second edition. Charles Lamb was the other in the trio here united.

The acquisition of a still more important literary friend is made at Stowey—Mr. Wordsworth. Coleridge says, "I speak with heart-felt sincerity, and I think unblinded judgment, when I tell you, that I feel myself a little man by his side, and yet I do not think myself a less man than I formerly thought myself." He visits Wordsworth frequently; and in the inspiration of his society, speaks of Tragedies and Epics that are to occupy years of his own life: one of the latter, in particular, to which he will devote twenty years; ten to collect his materials and warm his mind with—universal Science; five more, in which he would compose, and five, in which he would correct it! The summer of 1797 finds him in the fifth act of a Tragedy, 'Osorio,' which he never finished, and a critic upon a Latin Prize Poem of Amos Cottle's which he detained for six weeks, and sent back the day after that in which it was to be delivered in to his College.

Both his political and religious views were now, however, to undergo material changes. Let him speak for himself as far as possible, in regard to both. "I never held any principles (he writes to a lady, connected with Mr. Percival's family, in 1803) of which, considering my age, I have reason to be ashamed. My [political] principles were at all times decidedly anti-jacobin and anti-revolutionary. Indeed at that time (in his 22d year) I seriously held the doctrine of passive obedience, though a violent enemy of the first War. Afterwards, and for the last ten years of my life, I have been fighting incessantly in the good cause, against French ambition and French principles." Coleridge was at one time a

regular contributor of Essays to the Morning Post and Courier newspapers. Two of his Letters to Mr. Fox were attributed to Sir James Mackintosh. His bitterest effusion against the War ("Fire, Famine and Slaughter") was first published in the Post; and is 'violent' enough on Mr. Pitt, whose 'name' is that which is meant by the line so often repeated—

"Letters four do form his name."

Coleridge's Apologetic Preface to his Sibylline Leaves, published in 1816, is wholly occupied with a defense of this piece from the charge of 'malignity.' It is one of the most eloquent of his Prose Essays. Some of his older political associates had neither his discretion nor his honesty. But he distinguishes one of them (J. Thelwall, afterwards tried for High Treason) as "perhaps the only acting democrat who was honest." "For," he adds, (in 1797,) "the patriots are ragged cattle; a most execrable *herd*! Arrogant because they are ignorant, and boastful of the strength of reason, because they never tried it enough to know its weakness."

Coleridge became not only conservative in politics, but, like his friend Southey, a weary and almost indiscriminate admirer of 'things as they are' in England. He discovered that the way he once reprobated had "its golden side," that "pensions and sinecures" were not unmixed "evils," and the "decayed" feeling of the reverence "due to rank" was probably more to be deplored. Such are sentiments scattered throughout his Second Lay Sermon.

We have the opportunity of presenting a fair specimen of his later views with regard to revolutionary movements, in an unpublished paper of his, entitled "*And what Then, a few Questions for the Common People,*" prepared as a popular placard. The British Government of the day (1817) entertained some thoughts of thus addressing the people—by able writers. Some of its lessons are not unsuitable to American 'lovers of change.'

"You have been advised," he says, "in all sorts of ways, direct and indirect, in a mad and in a cowardly manner, to appeal to PHYSICAL FORCE in support of your Rights. Are you aware of the purport of this advice? Let a plain man tell you. Physical Force (a phrase of French extraction, and may it ever remain of French application to these subjects) can only mean, in this sense, the force you possess in common with the Beasts of the field, and in an inferior degree to many of them. Physical Force, in good old English, is

‘*Brute Force* ;’ and you are called upon to assert those rights which, if they belong to you at all, must belong to you as men, and to redress those grievances which you are supposed to feel as Englishmen, by the use of those means which are more closely joined by the laws of God and nature, to Bestial Instinct than to Human Reason! Physical Force is that kind of force which our good King Alfred, who gave us the Trial by Jury, wished to diminish in England, when he ordered certain Culprits to bring him a Wolf’s head a-piece, in atonement for their crimes! He thought, perhaps, that to increase the *Moral Force* of good and wholesome Laws was to surround the people’s rights with their best defence ; and therefore, you see, established this kind of Force at the expense of the other. But you are to be taught a nobler wisdom! The wolves of civil Discord are to be cherished among us, now-a-days! All the bad passions of the heart to be fed and cherished regularly, until they shall be fit to take the place both of the Judges and Juries of the land. . . . AND WHAT THEN?”

Then follows a series of questions, ending with this same WHAT THEN? for which we have not space.

“Go home,” he says, “and think, fellow Countrymen, think fully and freely, as Englishmen should think, of the real consequences of this memorable advice. Your best friends only wish you to think *heartily*. Your false friends are half-thinkers themselves, and would make you the first victims of half-thinking on the most important points.

“Hear me, Countrymen and Fellow-citizens ; hear one who appeals to your Human Nature ! Have you ever heard of a government hastily overthrown, but what the first generation of assailants perished, and something worse than any government, no government at all, was the portion of the survivors? Have you ever heard of a Revolution, brought about by the Physical Force of the populace, exhibiting anything but Madness in the beginning—Despotism in the end—Misery throughout, and Guilt everlasting?” “O Countrymen! It is a cruel thing when men who love and prize Liberty in their hearts as much as your Mis-guiders pretend to it with their lips, are obliged to hold their peace, because they find the name of Liberty given to Phrenzy ! Because she is to be found nowhere but in bad company and worse doings!”

To February, 1798, says his friend Cottle, Mr. C., though laxly, held the doctrines of Socinus. In a letter of that date he speaks of offering himself as Assistant Minister to

the Bridgewater Socinian congregation. But a friend, T. Wedgewood, Esq., interposes; sends him £100, with dissuasions from the plan, and finally, with his brother, settles upon him £150 per annum, on condition of his relinquishing it, and devoting himself to literature.

We remember putting to him once the direct question, How he escaped from Unitarianism? Or whether he would state what chiefly brought him over to the Orthodox views? "It was on my knees, before God, I obtained that deliverance," was his reply. "It was God's blessing on my reading the Greek Gospel of St. John." And he then dilated upon the true doctrine of the *Logos* as it stands in the first chapter; and which he said "he found irresistible when he was tractable." We were equally struck with his strong testimony to the doctrine of that chapter, and to the efficacy—"the fruition of *prayer*," as he calls it, on that occasion. We never heard a Christian of any class or denomination speak more directly upon the latter point, nor any man speak half so well as he could (critically, theologically, and to the heart) upon the former. His best friends should have urged him to write a free Commentary upon that part of Scripture, (as we once pressed upon his nephew the Bishop,) whatever else he had neglected.

The liberality of his friends, the Wedgewoods, enabling him, soon after this, to travel in Europe, with Wordsworth, was in every way important to him. It practically broke through and broke up his heterodox connections of all kinds—brought to his knowledge the German language and literature, and to his personal acquaintance a Klopstock, Blumenbach, Eichhorn, &c. His *Biographia Literaria* contains many interesting sketches of this journey; as well as of his subsequent visit to Malta, and his Secretaryship under Sir A. Ball. We must be content to refer the reader to that work. His final escape from the Continent was curious. Being at Rome, Prince Jerome Bonaparte sent for him; warned him that if he was, as an English Man of Letters, conscious of having written anything against his brother Napoleon, he was not safe in Italy;—and an American Captain gave him a passage from Leghorn, home; swearing to a perfect knowledge of him and his family, as American.

He returned from the Continent to Bristol in 1807; "a complete reverse," says Mr. Cottle, "having taken place in his theological tenets. He stated that he had renounced all his Unitarian sentiments; that he considered Unitarianism as a heresy of the worst description; attempting in vain to

reconcile sin and holiness, the world and heaven; opposing the whole spirit of the Bible, and subversive of all that constituted Christianity;—professed his deepest conviction of the truth of Revelation; of the Fall of man; of the Divinity of Christ, and Redemption alone through his blood.”* Some observations on his own character, “made him appear,” adds this true friend, “truly amiable.” “He said that he was naturally very arrogant, that it was his easily besetting sin; a state of mind which he ascribed to the severe subjection to which he had been exposed till he was fourteen years of age, and from which his own consciousness of superiority made him revolt.” All his friends had now the highest hopes of him. Sir Humphrey Davy (one of the stars originally of the Bristol group) had been watching him with delight in Malta and in London—(beautifully as truly he says: “I have looked to his efforts as to the efforts of a creating being; but as yet he has not laid the foundation for the new world of intellectual forms.”†) And John Foster speaks of “the very high luxury” he should enjoy in his company—and only shrinks from it until he shall have lessened a feeling of inferiority.

How mournful that we have now to quote this same friend (Cottle) as the unwilling but incontrovertible witness to Coleridge’s great practical fall into extreme self-indulgence in Narcotic Drugs! As he would sometimes confess this frankly as a sin, and his chief of sins, and at other times sophistically and perilously palliate it, Mr. Cottle has found it needful to be more particular in his details than we can here be, and to strengthen his testimony by that of Southey. But Coleridge charged one friend (Mr. Josiah Wade) that an “unqualified narration” of this matter should “be made known after his death;” and we think with Cottle, that though it may give all his friends deep pain, the case should be, on many accounts, fully known.

His old friend, full of glee, had taken him to Hannah More’s, at Barley Wood, where he was struck with something singular in his eye, and his general “paralytic” appearance—“so that he could not take a glass of wine without spilling it, though one hand supported the other.” When he mentioned this to a common friend the next day, “That,” said he, “arises from the immoderate quantity of *OPIMUM* he takes.” Mr. C. ruminates now on other symptoms which he could not before account for—finds the evidence of his squandering large sums on the pernicious

* Cottle’s *Reminiscences*, p. 229.

† Davy to Poole, in Cottle, p. 218.

drug—and writes Coleridge a most faithful and befitting letter. He thought his sense of justice and independence; his “true nobility of character,” and above all, his Christian principles, were yet to be roused effectually. But the effort failed. Coleridge replies, (having, as he states, but read his friend’s letter half through,) half reproachfully, if not in anger. The first sentence we have often thought an awful one, morally considered. Never was wit less wise. “You have poured oil in the raw and festering wound of an old friend’s conscience, Cottle! but *it is oil of vitriol*.” He should be heard, however, further. “I may say that I was seduced into the accursed habit ignorantly. I had been almost bedridden for many months with swellings in my knees. In a Medical Journal I unhappily met with an account of a cure performed in a similar case, or what appeared to me so, by rubbing in of laudanum, at the same time taking a given dose internally. It acted like a charm, like a miracle! I recovered the use of my limbs, of my appetite, of my spirits, and this continued for near a fortnight. At length the unusual stimulus subsided, the complaint returned—the supposed remedy was recurred to—but I cannot go through the dreary history.”* He ends with a bitter wish for £200; half to send to Mrs. Coleridge, and half to place himself in a private madhouse.

At this time, “His passion for opium had so completely subdued his will, that he seemed carried away without resistance. The impression was fixed on his mind that he should inevitably *die*, unless he were placed under constraint.” Cottle objecting to anything so disgraceful and unpromising as an asylum, consults Mr. Southey, who, as we have always felt, hits upon the true view of things. “The *most* mournful thing to discover (says S.) is, that while he acknowledges the guilt of the habit, he imputes it still to morbid bodily causes, [we could quote a long Original Letter of his, exactly corroborating this,] whereas, after every possible allowance is made for these, *every person who has witnessed his habits knows* that for the greater, infinitely the greater part, inclination and indulgence are its motives.” He quotes a lady we well knew. Coleridge having brought his consumption of laudanum at her house to *a pint a day*, she resolutely set about urging him to abstain; when he complained, “It was better to die than endure his feelings.” Mrs. M—— resolutely replied, “It was indeed better that he should die than live as he had been living.” She

* Coleridge to Cottle, *Reminiscences*, p. 272.

persevered and *did* break him (for a time) of the habit, but he relapsed. "To what then was the relapse owing?" continues Southey. "I believe to this cause, that no use was made of renewed health and spirits; that time passed on in idleness, till the lapse of time brought with it a sense of neglected duties, and then relief was again sought, for a *self-accusing mind*, in bodily feelings, which, when the stimulus ceased to act, added only to the load of self-accusation. This, Cottle, is an insanity which none but the soul's Physician can cure."

Here are, in brief, the whole morals and chief instruction of the case. Southey, however, offers kind practical advice: That he should consult with his friends at Birmingham and Liverpool; perhaps lecture there; then come round to him (S.) and his own wife and children. "He knows in what manner he would be received; by his children with joy; by his wife, not with tears if she can control them—certainly not with reproaches;—by myself, only with encouragement."† But this advice he rejects. Cottle now proposes a general subscription among his friends, to which Southey objects—and Coleridge goes to reside with an opulent friend, Mr. J. Wade; that friend providing for him professional assistance, and an old decayed tradesman, as a superintendent of his habits night and day. But he dodges him; will obtain opium surreptitiously; and returns once more to Calne, and his good friends, the M——, who keep him until impoverished by him; and from them finally he starts to London.

To insert a memorable Letter of his to Mr. Wade, would only be to steep this case in unnecessary horrors. He confesses, with all his unequalled power of words—"GUILT"; utter, deserved "*misery*": after this he lives twenty years, relapsing and repenting. On the whole, we cannot but hope that he subdued, latterly, this wretched habit. But Cottle and his earlier friends never knew this. Southey, after his death, expresses little confidence in his general character. He retires from every church. While found frequently in his conversation, and always in his writings, the friend of religion, and the able champion of some of its most important truths, there is an unpenetrated mystery over the final power of it on his heart. During this period, he had no strictly religious friends.

It was passed, almost entirely, at the house of Mr. Gillman, a surgeon, of Highgate, who published some years since a

† Coleridge to Cottle, *Reminiscences*, p. 276.

volume of Coleridge's Life; another at least was expected, but has not appeared. At the London presses, he re-edited and completed his "Friend," in 3 vols. 12mo, published his *Biographia Literaria*, 2 vols. 8vo, *Sibylline Leaves*, 8vo, "Remorse," and "Zapolya," two dramas. The former was acted with some success at one of the great Theatres. After this he published his "Two Lay Sermons"; and wrote the Prospectus, and formed the Plan of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, the largest work, on a philosophical plan, in our language. In 1825 appeared his "Aids to Reflections," 8vo; in 1830 his Tract on the Constitution of the Church and State. His Poetical Works were finally collected and published in three elegant little volumes by Pickering in 1828. He died and was buried at Highgate in July, 1834. [Thus much for the personal history of one, of whom Wordsworth, as great a living authority* as could be quoted, has said, that while many men of his age have done wonderful things, Coleridge was the only wonderful *man* he ever knew.]

His singular little piece, "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit," published since his death, may well introduce his *final views* of religion. The able young Editor, Mr. Henry N. Coleridge, calls it a "key to most of the Biblical criticisms scattered throughout his writings."

The subject is the often-mooted one of *inspiration*, upon which he is an Inquiring Spirit to what we must call a painful degree; arguing for a "due appreciation of the Scriptures *collectively*, grounded on, and as the result of, a belief in Christ—and not necessarily involving a belief in the divine Origin and Authenticity of all and every part of the Canonical Books." The logic of what is thus implied we never could see. How can we truly believe in the Christ or Messiah *of* Scripture, without a prior belief, or further than we believe, in the divine origin and authority of the Scriptures themselves? An accurate estimate, however, of his Inquiry must entirely turn upon what he intends by "all and every part of" the Sacred Canon. And here he is not a little ambiguous. He separates all those parts of Scripture which claim, directly, a *Thus saith the Lord*, or that "the Word of the Lord came to" Samuel and others, from those which do not directly make such a claim. He half adopts the Jewish distinction between the undoubted inspiration of Moses, and the partial or inferior inspiration of the *Hagiographa* and the Prophets. He even strongly recommends that in "all ordinary cases the *knowledge* and *belief*

* Deceased since the above was written.—Ed.

of the Christian Religion should precede the study of the Hebrew Canon," and "oral and catechetical instruction by the visible church," precede both. How wildly theoretic and wide of the facts, all this! As if the New Testament itself must not establish *what is* the visible church; and did not itself perpetually, from Matthew to the Revelation, refer to the Hebrew Canon for its own foundation and claims. But our object is rather to exhibit Coleridge's views than minutely to criticise them. Suffice it then to say, that the Oxford party in the Church of England have largely affiliated the principles of this Tract, and claim the departed Poet as one of their Seers from far. It should in justice perhaps be added, that it contains a noble and unqualified assertion of the necessity of the Holy Spirit's work on the heart, and several eloquent passages on the intrinsic worth of the Bible.

Abundant proofs remain that Mr. Coleridge could and did think for himself on religion, with unsurpassed vigor of mind. And such men *make* others think. We find among our private papers an Original Letter of his on another much-controverted subject—Original Sin; but have only room for an extract. It was written to a young friend who had remarked his adoption of a frequent addition to Heb. ii. 7.

"Be assured," he says, "I took as a kindness your remarks on my carelessness in adding the words, 'sin excepted,' to the text." He suggests that this frequent addition might have crept into use, because the passage had been quoted by "Photinian heretics (the Socinians of former times) in proof of their doctrine that Christ was not only peccable but actually peccant." "Except as a denunciation of this doctrine," he says, "the gloss would be at least as strong against my doctrine as against yours. We both believe that sin is universal in the human race, and that the scheme of redemption was grounded on this universality, known and foreseen by our Creator. . . . We both hold that we are all responsible, and that this cannot be where we are not culpable (?); that sin without guilt is but an obscure name for calamity, and can no more render a creature the object of his Creator's moral displeasure, than a fever or a broken limb. We both of us hold, however, that our memories are not fair or adequate criteria of our sinfulness: that no man can assign the date of his first sin: and that all men without exception *need* a Redeemer, and the remedial and accessory, no less than the aboriginal, graces of the Holy Spirit. Those graces and aids, I mean, that are bestowed in consequence of that

redemption, and as a vital part of its process. Lastly, we believe in common, that we are born with an imperfect nature, so far at least that our sinful propensities must not be attributed exclusively to circumstances and *external* causes, in which case we should be passive as iron to the acid of the air, and the damp, when it becomes rusty; but that the sinful things have their origin *within ourselves*, and this is what I understand by the doctrine of Original (i. e. self-originating) Sin. Wherein then do we differ? I know not, unless it be in this: that I feel and see no objection to the common language of men in all ages, countries and religions, in the use of the phrase Nature, as distinguishing that which is common to a whole race or species, from that which is peculiar to any one individual of that species. Thus we should speak of a lion-cub, if we saw it fondling and sporting with a lamb or a child—‘It is the tamest and innocentest beast of its kind I ever saw; but be aware; remember what its nature is!’ Let it be remembered that where metaphysical arguments and transcendental speculations (that is, an appeal to supposed truths that are beyond or prior to our consciousness, as the *conditions* or explanatory causes of that consciousness) are brought forward *against* a doctrine, they must be answered by the same. If A. uses a sword of iron B. must defend himself with an iron breast-plate, or avoid the combat. The far greater number of the apostles were plain, unlettered men; but it pleased God that one of them should be taken from the feet of Gamaliel. For no gift of God is useless. I should join with you in warmly deprecating the language and doctrine of such of the modern Calvinists, who affirm that man is guilty because it pleased God that he should be punished; and that the power of God constitutes his justice; and who misapply St. Paul’s admirable reproof of such as dared question the equity of God in *national* dispensations, to the responsibility of *individual free agents*. For such teachers I should think it sufficient to point out Romans ii. 5–16, and drop the dispute.”

His Notes to Southey’s Life of Wesley, however, exhibit him more fully as a Theologian (and on a greater variety of subjects) than any other of his works. He here writes *con amore*; speaks with the greatest affection of his old friend, and yet canvasses many of his views with great freedom. It will enable us to leave these two interesting men associated and paired, as we began with them. “To this work,” he says, “and to the Life of Richard Baxter, I was used to

resort whenever sickness and languor made me feel the want of an old friend, of whose company I should never be tired."

There is a kind of antipathy to Wesley exhibited in these Notes, which singularly contrasts itself with Southey's partiality for him. "I am persuaded," says Coleridge, "that Wesley never rose above the region of logic and strong volition. The moment an idea presented itself to him, his understanding intervenes to eclipse it. Nothing is *immediate* to him. Nor could it be otherwise with a man so ambitious, so constitutionally, if not a commanding, yet a *ruling* genius; i. e., no genius at all; but a height of talent, with unusual strength and activity of individual will."*

"The constitution of a Christian Church I have found a problem of exceeding difficulty, increased by the difficulty of satisfactorily deciding the period to which our Lord's few declarations on this head refer; whether not to the interval between his death and the destruction of the Temple, while his disciples remained members of the synagogue; and secondly, certain perplexities respecting the *Paulinity* of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus."† Here is no incipient Puseyism, but some fruit of his skepticism as to Inspiration.

We copy a few more of these aphorisms, as they follow the progress of Southey's narrative. "Metaphors are tricky companions—Will o' the Wisps, that often lead a man to say what he never meant, or call them fire-flies, that (on all momentous subjects) should be examined by the strongest light of the lamp of reflection, before they are let loose to ornament the twilight. The bewilderment of the Moravians suggested to me, what I still hope to execute (!), an Essay on the nature and importance of Taste (*φειλοκαλία*) in religion."‡

"Of whom was Wesley's calling? of God? I *cannot* say, Yes. I dare not, will not say, or even think, No. That Arminian Methodism contains many true Christians, God forbid that I should doubt! That it ever made, or tends to make a Christian, I *do* doubt."|| "Oh, dear and honored Southey! This is the favorite of my library among many favorites—this darling book is, nevertheless, an unsafe book for all of unsettled minds."§

He has a Note, too long to copy, on doctrinal, which he

* Life of Wesley, by Southey, with Notes by Coleridge, 2 vols. 12mo, New-York, 1847, vol. I, p. 167.

† Id., p. 172. ‡ Id., p. 187. || Id., p. 189. § Id., p. 199.

calls the "alone powerful and soul-reaching Sermons." "When a Church is firmly established, she is brought to the very verge of ruin by preaching *morality*, i. e., first Platonic, then Stoic, then Epicurean ethics. The subtile poison of the easy chair had begun to work on Wesley himself toward the end of his life."*

Coleridge argues in another long Note for both "the probability and the logic" being on the side of the Calvinists, as to the perseverance of believers—but insists that it is based on that which is transcendent, i. e., "passes all *understanding*"; and that the deductions from it are only safe when they are *pious*."† "Indolent *quietism*," he calls in another place, "the most dangerous form of Antinomianism."‡

When Southey objects to Wesley's strong doctrine respecting the Depravity of man, and the necessity of a spiritual in distinction from a baptismal Regeneration, he affirms both. When Wesley is half inclined to assert the Faith of Miracles as revived, "Well for me," says Coleridge, "that I know ['Irving,' as we venture to supply the blank], and know therefore that if I asked [for it] I should ask in vain."§ He follows with a Note, like himself, profound to the limits of—understandableness; and in a page or two onward, smiles at Southey's credulity, and reminds him of "the pernicious argument" he has "furnished to weak minds in favor of preternatural agency by his own grave narrative" of all the ghostly knockings in Wesley's father's house.

His strongest Note against his friend occurs when the latter ventures to say (with many a skeptic) that to the success of Christianity, "pomp, wealth and authority" became "essential." "*Is Southey a Christian?*" he here asks. "If he be (!)—nay, assuredly he is. But will a Christian declare superstitious worship, with the power, pomps and vanities of the world, 'essential' to the success of Christianity? The number and kind of Wickliffe's followers, poor and simple men, falsify the whole scheme."||

Sometimes he is half a Nonconformist, at least, and zealously contrasts the character of the Two Thousand ejected ministers under the St. Bartholomew act, with "the torpor of the perjured, papistical clergy of Elizabeth." The Prelatic and Cavalier party of Charles I. and II. are with him "a mere vapping and imbecile faction;" and respecting Cromwell's ejections, "how many were ousted for gross igno-

* Id., p. 202-3. † Id., 226. ‡ Id., p. 301. § Id., p. 255. || Id., p. 264.

rance, shameful neglect of duty, cursing and swearing, drunkenness and whoredom, vide," says he, "Burnet, Baxter, Thurloe," &c.*

Southey speaks of the "miserable" times in which the people sat for hours under the preaching of JOHN HOWE and others. "*How* miserable?" asks Coleridge. "*Why* miserable? Did not the people crowd to the churches? Almost worship these gifted pulmonists? Are the folks miserable who sit in the gallery of the House of Commons from five in the afternoon to three or four next morning, listening to still longer, and to a thinking mind, not more interesting harangues?"†

He has a witty illustration of partial quotations. "What can be more unfair than to pinch a bit out of a book in this way? Most candid critic, what if I, by way of joke, pinch out your eye; then holding up the gobbet, cry—Ha! ha! That men should be such dolts! Behold this slimy dab! And he who owned it deemed that it could see."‡

We arrive at an able, and (as we opine) Scriptural Note,§ on the Divine decrees; but can only refer the reader to it. It concludes: "He reasons rightly who reasons *wisely*. Piety is here the best logic, and edification the only safe measure."

When Southey asserts that the intercourse which the Wesleyans required between pastor and people "cannot possibly exist in the metropolis," his friend asks, "Is this true? And can the Church of which it is true be a Church of Christ?"||

We have thus scanned the Notes to vol. I. of this work. We earnestly recommend every young minister to purchase it. It is full of the seeds of thought on theological subjects—packed closely.

Our reflections on the Life and character of this great writer—the fascinations of his presence removed—do not permit the Christian or the man to stand so high with us as once they did. On the other hand his *greatness* enlarges upon the retrospect. His gigantic intellect, to the grasp of which nothing came amiss; which nothing seemed to find unprepared: his logical, critical acumen; his soundness of judgment on an unusual variety of subjects, literary, philosophical, and theological: his precision; his pains-taking accuracy (yet evolved without pain) in any form of address or language to which he chose to apply himself; his never-

* Id., p. 273. † Id., p. 278. ‡ Id., p. 289. § Id., p. 302. || Id., p. 325.

ruffled urbanity and sweetness of manner! And, then, the *Impression* he has made (and so often said he should make) on his own and the present Age! Altogether, and particularly in conversation, he was the beau ideal of a philosopher, a poet, and a divine; a Plato, a Homer, or an Augustine; and true was it equally of that conversation and of his pen, in his best days, that, like the trunk of an elephant, it could now pick up a pin with facility, and now raise superhuman weights.

ART. II.—SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JUSTIN
MARTYR.

ONE of the titles which the prophets applied to the Messiah is, the Prince of Peace. Poetry and oratory have delighted in this appellation; and benevolence has glowed with the anticipation of a period when all that is implied in it will be a reality. And yet among the seeming paradoxes by which our Lord sometimes stimulated the attention of his followers, we hear him saying, "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay: but rather division." As one of the results of his religion, one of the intermediate results by which its ultimate purpose was to be reached, members of the same family would forget their family ties, neighborly kindness would be interrupted, and even the sword unsheathed. "I came not to send peace, but a sword."

Disordered human nature resists its cure. The masters of the fortune-telling damsel at Philippi and the shrine-makers at Ephesus could not look with complacency on the men whose teachings took away the hope of their gains. The religion of Christ, encountering the idolatry and corruption of the Roman empire, could not but call into action governmental hostility; and as no correct public opinion existed to restrain the government, the sword would be summoned to its office. Nero was the first of the Emperors in this work of blood. To gratify a singular whim he set Rome on fire. To avert from himself the odium of so flagitious a deed, he charged it on the Christians. His diabolic taste invented horrid forms of cruelty. Some of the Christians were crucified; others were sewed up in the skins of wild beasts and exposed to the fury

of dogs ; others, dressed in garments smeared over with some combustible material, were set on fire to light up the public gardens at night.

Domitian also marked his reign with persecution. He was followed in persecution by Trajan, a genuine Roman, ambitious to sustain the glory of the empire. As this was, in his view, essentially dependent on the ancient religion of the State, he could not be indifferent to the new religion. It had in some of the provinces pervaded all orders of society, and was by its silent progress undermining the whole fabric of the State religion. This cool and considerate Emperor, influenced by the representations of his perhaps still more considerate Proconsul, Pliny, directed that, though search should not be made for Christians, yet when complaints on the ground of religion should be lodged against them, the law should take its course.

Hadrian's name next occurs in the same disagreeable connection. During his reign two distinguished Christians, Quadratus and Aristides, presented to him formal apologies or defenses in behalf of the Christians. A high officer of the Emperor's also, indignant at the arbitrary proceedings against the Christians, made a representation of the case to Hadrian, and procured from him a mandate discountenancing these violent modes of opposition. This Emperor, without really respecting Christianity, or being indifferent to the State religion, was simply anxious that in measures against the Christians legal processes should be observed. The language of his mandate however was such that magistrates, if they chose to favor accused Christians, could shield themselves behind it.

Our purpose requires us to mention in this connection only one more Emperor, Antoninus Pius. Various public calamities which occurred at the commencement of his reign were, in the spirit of the times, charged on the Christians. Persecution, notwithstanding the Emperor's mild spirit, would to some extent, as proceeding from popular ill-will and the readiness of inferior magistrates to indulge their own spleen and to gratify the populace, be a natural consequence.

The period over which we have thus rapidly glanced extends from the year 64 of the Christian era to about the year 140. Christianity received no legal protection. It was in fact proscribed. And though it numbered among its adherents men most respectable for intellectual as well as moral worth, still the finger of scorn and the force of public authority were almost constantly pointed at them. They were objects of calumnies most gross and revolting. They were

misunderstood and misrepresented. Though they were men of whom the world was not worthy, yet the Roman world was thought too good for their undisturbed abode.

In these circumstances some vindication of the Christians, which might circulate in various classes of society, was evidently desirable. Divine Providence granted them this means of appearing before the community in their true light. The first vindications presented to an Emperor, and designed probably to affect the public sentiment, proceeded from Quadratus and Aristides, names already mentioned. At a later date the apologetic works of Tertullian, Origen, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, and Arnobius are more familiar even to the reader of ecclesiastical history. It is to one of the honored men who in that early age defended Christians and their religion that the present sketch is devoted. He was not however simply an apologist in behalf of his brethren. He bore the title also of philosopher; and he fell a martyr to the cause which by his writings and his life he had vindicated and adorned.

Justin Martyr, remarkable as being the earliest Christian writer who connected philosophy and religion, and took a somewhat systematic view of Christianity, was born, some say about the year 90, and others about the year 103 of the Christian era, in Palestine; more particularly in Samaria, and in the town which the Gospel of John has associated with Jacob's Well,—namely Sichem, or Shechem. At the time of which we speak the town bore the name of Neapolis, which name has become transmuted into Naplous. Justin was descended from a Grecian family, which probably removed to Neapolis with the colony planted by the Emperor Vespasian. The family was in eligible circumstances; and his writings show that he enjoyed corresponding advantages for education, and acquired ampleness of intellectual resources. His bent of mind was not strongly to philosophical speculation; the religious element predominated. He longed for knowledge respecting the Divine Being, and was attracted to philosophical study because he expected by its means to satisfy this desire.

According to his own account, Justin first repaired as a student in philosophy to a certain Stoic. His object being to acquire a knowledge of God, he soon parted from the Stoic, who laid no claim to such knowledge, and represented it as wholly unnecessary. He next attached himself to a Peripatetic of considerable pretensions. After the lapse of a few days however his new master showed so much solicitude for

pecuniary compensation, that he retired from him in disgust. Eager still for philosophical and religious culture, he went to a Pythagorean. While conversing with him, Justin felt desirous to become his pupil. But the philosopher asked him, Have you learned music, astronomy, and geometry? insisting on the indispensableness of these branches of knowledge for abstracting the mind from objects of sense, and qualifying it to contemplate the good and the beautiful. As he had not particularly cultivated these branches of knowledge, the Pythagorean dismissed him.

With unchecked desire, and impelled by the thought that he had no time to lose, he determined to study the Platonic philosophy. Just then a distinguished Platonist came to the city where Justin was residing, and the opportunity was embraced to become his pupil. His unwearied devotion to study now appeared to himself to be receiving its desired recompense. The proud feeling took possession of his breast that he was making rapid progress in the development of his internal nature, and by his delight in the contemplation of ideas, that is, abstract truths, ideas abstracted from the object to which they belong, he became elated with the prospect of soon being able to perceive God, or to have an intuition of the Divine Being. This end the Platonic philosophy proposed, and this Justin flattered himself he was at the very point of attaining.

With this expectation, he indulged much in solitary musing. On one occasion, in order to secure uninterrupted meditation, he set out for a spot on the sea-shore. As he approached the place, he chanced to discover that an aged man of venerable and attractive aspect was not far behind him. Struck with his appearance, he gazed on him in silence. The aged man at length broke the silence by inquiring, Dost thou know me? Conversation then ensued, in which the stranger discovered Justin's state of mind, put him on a better track of thought, and recommended to him the writings of the Old Testament as containing the only true and useful philosophy. In compliance with the aged stranger's advice, he entered on the study of the inspired volume.

Here it is important to say that Justin possessed a spirit of candor uncommon among the men of his class. Though of a pagan family, and thus far without any particular intercourse with Christians, he had been induced, (so he himself says,) by observing how readily the Christians met death for their religion, to disbelieve the calumnies which were circulated to their disadvantage. Men fond of present pleasures—

for the Christians were stigmatized as secretly indulging in the grossest licentiousness—men fond of present pleasures he knew would be too much attached to life freely to sacrifice it as the Christians did. Such men would rather screen themselves, he remarks, from the magistrate and the laws, than fearlessly surrender themselves to the public authorities, to meet the utmost infliction of the laws. He was in truth favorably impressed by the Christians' moral heroism; and should some peculiar circumstances strongly direct his thoughts to Christianity, he would be likely, humanly speaking, from his candor and his fearlessness, to embrace it. He did in fact, as the immediate result of following the venerable stranger's counsel, become a Christian. In the Sacred Scriptures he found what he had been so long pursuing; and dismissing all human teachers he sought wisdom henceforth from the Book of God.

We cannot but pause a moment, to indulge a reflection. The knowledge of God was to be attained, according to the Platonic philosophy, by the human soul's being elevated above sensible objects, and becoming disciplined to the contemplation of abstract ideas, becoming sublimated, as it were, and translated to regions of pure thought. Man, in other words, must elevate himself to God, in order to understand what God is; must indeed become so transcendental as to contemplate ideas rather than the objects of ideas,—Deity in the abstract for instance rather than God, or simple existence distinct from a being with personal qualities. But God's thoughts and ways are not as man's; and therefore, instead of requiring man to ascend up into heaven in order to learn the mysteries of Deity, He sees it proper to descend to man's sphere, and in the person of his Son to show us in human flesh the image of the invisible God. The Divine manifested in humanity brings man into communion with God. Whosoever sees me, says Christ, sees the Father. Thus the true knowledge of God is nigh thee; and all real advancement in divine knowledge keeps pace with our progress in a just acquaintance with the revelation of Jesus Christ.

This great change in Justin's religious views and feelings took place probably when he was about thirty years of age. Though he had now become a decided Christian and devoted himself to the Christian cause, he did not however accept a spiritual office in the Church. He still wore the philosopher's mantle, and might be considered as by profession a Christian philosopher. He doubtless believed that while by re-

taining this position he should consult his bent of mind, he could also better subserve the interests of Christianity, as it would give him access to many other persons and circles than he could influence should he be known as a Christian presbyter. This is illustrated by the fact that while at a later date he was in Ephesus, as he appeared abroad in the philosopher's garb, he was hailed by a certain person as a philosopher, and in consequence entered into a religious discussion with him and his companions. Thus originated that work of his, entitled *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, in which the various points in controversy between the Christians and the Jews were advantageously treated. As a philosopher he travelled extensively; and we shall not give him too much credit if we call him an evangelist in the philosopher's dress. He twice took up a temporary residence at Rome; and there established a school, which was perpetuated by Tatian, one of his disciples, and which exerted an eminently Christian influence.

Besides his oral instructions and other labors in behalf of Christianity, he wrote for its vindication and that of the Christians as a persecuted sect, various important works. Several of these are no longer extant. Those which still remain are monuments of his industry, extensive reading, and devotion to the cause of true religion. A prominent place among these is occupied by the *Apology* in behalf of the Christians, which he presented to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. The philanthropic character of this Emperor furnished a ground of hope that a defense in their behalf, as persecution was now renewed, would be favorably received. Being in Rome, he accordingly wrote one and presented it. This defense was very elaborate, entering minutely into the various accusations which were alleged against the hated sect, and urging on the consideration and favor of the Emperor, the Senate, and the whole Roman people, the positive claims of the Christians to better treatment.

Though this was not the earliest production of the kind which had been written, yet it is the earliest that has come down to our times. It is interesting not only as a monument of its author, but also as exhibiting the opinions and conduct of Christians in that remote age, and as furnishing a striking contrast between Christians and pagans. Though addressed primarily to the Emperor, it bears no marks of servility; it maintains a manly tone, and with boldness places Christians, when compared with the heathen, on most decidedly superior ground. Indeed some of its thoughts are of too bold a stamp,

approaching to effrontery. Cringing flattery could not certainly be imputed to this writer. All intention of flattering he expressly disavows in the opening passages of the Apology, and asks for the Christians only fair investigation and equitable treatment. With that fearless spirit which the Christian faith encourages, he uttered in this connection the noble sentiment, "You may put us to death, but you cannot harm us."

Admirable as is fearlessness of consequences in a good cause, when Divine Providence leaves us no alternative, and when human wisdom has exhausted its resources, a regard notwithstanding is due to the proprieties of station. Independence is not insolence. We can hardly believe that Justin would have consciously descended to any real indelicacy when addressing his sovereign. Still when he suggests that the rulers appeared to conduct as if afraid that all their subjects would act aright, and thus there would be no criminals to be punished, a tacit reflection seems to be conveyed on their justice and clemency, and an imputation of delight in the sufferings of their subjects; a suggestion sufficiently repulsive in itself, but rendered still more so by the additional thought that such policy proceeds from the influence of evil demons. How different was the manner of the Apostle Paul! He set no such example. Though he never sunk to servility, he never forgot the dictates of Christian urbanity.

Three accusations which popular hatred had industriously circulated against the Christians, this Apology brings to particular notice. 1. Christians were denounced as Atheists, because they denied the national gods, and paid no homage to any visible emblems of the divinity.* 2. They were charged

* On the charge of atheism, Justin acknowledges that the Christians disbelieved the divinity of the heathen gods, but affirms that they worshipped the true God, the Maker of all things, and his Son Jesus Christ the Saviour, and the Holy Spirit. He repeatedly recognizes the Christian doctrine of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The first passage recognizing this doctrine contains also a mention of angels immediately after mentioning the Son. It may be thus translated: "We worship and reverence Him, (the true God before spoken of,) and the Son who came from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels following him and resembling him, the prophetic Spirit also."

The mention of angels in such a connection has put in requisition the skill of many distinguished scholars in order to rescue Justin from the charge of favoring the worship of angels. Various modes of construction have been proposed; but they are all unsatisfactory, and it is best to interpret his language on the ordinary principles of Greek syntax. If this were the only passage in which the object, or objects, of Christian worship were mentioned, the difficulty would indeed be great. But it is one out of six; the other five are silent in regard to angels. Two methods of relieving the difficulty may be proposed that do no violence to the language, and are in harmony with religious feelings. 1. Justin uses two verbs, *worship* and *reverence*, the latter of which does not necessarily involve the idea of real worship, and may have been employed with particular reference to the angels. This method is adopted by Semisch in his very critical work on the Life of Justin Martyr. 2. Jus-

with slaying and devouring infants in their assemblies. 3. The charge of gross licentiousness during their meetings was also laid against them. These charges are calmly, and yet with honest indignation, repelled, and in part retorted on the heathen themselves.

The pure morality of the Christian religion is here diffusely vindicated by producing its precepts concerning chastity, the love of all men, even of enemies, the endurance of evil, the taking of oaths, inward rectitude as well as external propriety, payment of tribute, and prayer in behalf of rulers.

Various discriminating points in the Christian religion are also defended : namely, the state of the soul after death ; the resurrection of the body ; the destruction of the world. The miracles and ascension of Christ are also brought to view.

It is worthy of notice that the miracles recorded in the New Testament are not adduced in supporting the divinity of the Christian religion so much as those prophecies of the Old Testament which were then believed to have been fulfilled. The reason of this, we may believe, was that in that age pretended miracles were common, magic was extensively practised, and many apparently supernatural deeds were traced to the agency of evil demons. Real miracles were then probably misunderstood, and, as being placed on a level with magic deeds and works of supposed demoniacal agency, could not have their proper force in the defense of religion. Ancient prophecies however, fulfilled according to authentic history, could not be justly disputed. The evidence of prophecy is extended by Justin to a fatiguing minuteness ; and the

tin says, "the *other* angels," intending probably to distinguish the good angels from the demons, whom he considered as the gods worshipped by the heathen. He may have designed to convey the idea that the Christians, as well as the heathen, acknowledged a class of superior beings worthy of reverence, and thus to point out a resemblance and a contrast between the heathen and the Christians, highly advantageous to the latter.

With this explanation, the only difficulty presented by the passage is that the mention of angels should occur precisely in this connection. But a reader of Justin, knowing how discursive he is and how often he interjects clauses and passages that interrupt the course of thought, and that would not be expected, will not feel a difficulty on this account. As an illustration of this practice in Justin, we may notice the passage in which, speaking of baptism, he first mentions God the Father ; then follows an explanation why God is without a name, attached to which is also an explanation of the word *illumination*, used in reference to baptism. He then resumes the thought which had been interrupted, and completes the description of baptism by mentioning the name of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Spirit. On this passage, Trollope in his edition of Justin's First Apology remarks : "Having mentioned the *name of God*, Justin before he concludes the baptismal formula starts off in his usual digressive manner into an explanation of the sense in which the expression is to be understood ; and then again into another of the import of το λουτρον, mentioned in the first digression."

allegorical mode of interpreting the Scriptures then prevalent betrays itself at almost every step.*

How Justin could have supposed that a Roman Emperor would patiently make, or would cause to be made, such investigations as would be necessary in order to verify his statements, or that any pagan would at once admit his allegorical explanations, is rather surprising: not to say that the Romans did not receive the Old Testament as a divine book, and the argument from its prophecies could therefore with them have but a slender basis. The only way in which it could avail would seem to be that an agreement between the predictions of that book and certain historical events of a much later age might arouse curiosity, and at length lead to an acknowledgment of its being divine; and as the religion of the gospel was so essentially connected with the Old Testament dispensation, by this circuitous process readers of this Apology might be led to Christianity.

As fulfilments of prophecy might argue, to a Roman, the doctrine of a fatal necessity controlling all events, Justin here takes occasion to refute this abuse, and strenuously maintains the doctrine of human liberty.

He also disavows the opinion that all who lived before the time of Christ were wholly without a knowledge of God's will and were excluded from his favor. He maintains on the contrary the constant agency of Christ's divine nature in enlightening the human family. Seeds of divine knowledge, he believes, were widely scattered. Those who admitted the light which Christ previously to his incarnation thus diffused were accepted of God, and might by anticipation be called Christians. Instances of such men, he believes, were Heraclitus and Socrates. All the light they had, all which the ancient world possessed from the earliest period, was imparted by Christ. Christ it was who on various occasions mentioned in the Old Testament appeared as the organ of God. "All the theophanies were Christophanies."

In the spirit of his age, Justin has much to say in this Apology concerning demons. To them he traces the fabrication of the heathen mythology as a perversion of the Scripture prophecies; it is they who raised up heretics among the Christians; they instigated the persecutors of the Christians.

* In the study of the Old Testament Justin was under the necessity, like many other early Christian teachers, of confining himself to the Septuagint Greek version. He was not acquainted with the Hebrew language. He also believed, in common with the great body of those who felt any interest in the Scriptures, that the Septuagint version was made by inspiration, and that it was as authoritative as the Hebrew original.

He believed, in accordance with an opinion then prevalent among Christians, that the demons were the heathen gods. His theory of the origin of these supernatural evil powers, as it has in it a point of literary as well as religious interest, we may just hint at. God, in administering the affairs of this world, set over it a number of angels as his vicegerents. The angels were by their nature invested with a kind of corporeity; they were not mere spirits, but possessed also bodily qualities and appetites. Those who were intrusted with the superintendence of the human race fell from their purity, and in consequence demons came into existence of angelic and human descent.* This corrupt mixture subjected to themselves the human family, craftily insinuating into men the belief that they, the demons, were gods, and compelling men to give them such names as would keep concealed their demoniac nature. Thus originated the heathen mythology and the particular names by which the heathen gods were known.

Another item of literary curiosity may be worth presenting, as not only an interesting fact in itself, but as illustrating the lack of accuracy in early writers, and the advantage of modern research in correcting long established errors. Among the early adversaries of Christianity, Simon Magus is often mentioned. He imposed on the simple-minded by his magic arts, and, it would seem, was acknowledged as a kind of god. Whether there was in reality such a person, or whether all that is related of him should come under the head of fictitious representation, derived in part from the Scripture account of Simon the Sorcerer, is immaterial to the present point. Justin, in claiming for the Christians fair treatment, reminds the Emperor of the honors which the Romans were disposed to award to men who pretended to be gods, and makes mention of a monument that had been erected on an island in the river Tiber in honor of this Simon, with the inscription: "Simoni Sancto Deo,—To the holy Simon, a god, or, To the holy god Simon." This is stated with the most entire simplicity, as a matter of unquestionable certainty, and as a proof that Simon had been deified. He adverts to it a second time, distinctly tracing the erection of the statue to public authority. In this statement he is followed by several ancient writers of reputation. Thus the

* Semisch, in his *Life of Justin Martyr*, (Vol. II. p. 291.) remarks, that "the legend of the angelic-human origin of demons had its true origin in the Scriptural passage, Gen. vi. 2, according to the ancient reading of the Septuagint, *οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ*; a passage which, with the single exception of Julius Africanus, has been understood by all the Ante-Nicene Fathers of the intercourse of angels with the daughters of men."

matter stood till near the close of the sixteenth century, when in the year 1574 the base of a statue with an inscription was dug up at the very spot indicated by Justin. But unfortunately for the accuracy of the early ages, the inscription, instead of being, as Justin had in all probability credulously been informed, *Simoni Sancto Deo Sacrum*, actually was *Semoni Sanco Deo Sacrum*,—sacred to the god *Semo Sancus*. Now this *Semo Sancus* was a Sabine god, and the monument had no more to do with Simon Magus than with Simon Peter. But here Justin shared in common with his age. Somehow, the opinion had gained circulation, and nobody felt any particular impulse to inquire into its verity.

The latter portion of the *Apology* reveals to us the Christians' mode of worship at that early date, their manner of observing the sacraments,* and their fraternal spirit. In closing the work, the author with characteristic independence and piety invokes the candor and justice of the rulers, protesting against their dooming to death men guilty of no crime, distinctly forewarning them that they could not escape the coming judgment of God if they persisted in an unrighteous course; and then, if his appeal is to be slighted, submitting for himself and his suffering brethren the whole matter to the Sovereign Disposer: The will of God be done. In order to influence the Emperor by a worthy example, he subjoins a copy of the mandate already mentioned, issued by his predecessor Hadrian.

What effect this defense produced on the Emperor we are not informed. On that point some writers hazard no opinion. Others believe that it made a good impression, since Antoninus issued edicts favorable to his Christian subjects. Any good effect however which it might have produced in the palace was only temporary; for the next Emperor, whose early name, *Verissimus*, is in its opening sentence associated

* The passages which relate to baptism have been sufficiently examined in Vol. III. pp. 204, &c., and vol. VI. pp. 303, &c., of the *Christian Review*. It may not be amiss however to insert here the conclusion which Semisch, a Lutheran divine, has so candidly expressed in his elaborate work on the Life, Writings, and Opinions of Justin Martyr, vol. II. p. 334: "Whenever Justin refers to baptism, *adults* appear as the subjects to whom the sacred rite is administered. Of an *infant baptism* he knows nothing. The traces of it, which some persons believe they have detected in his writings, are groundless fancies artificially produced."

Baptism was also regarded in Justin's time as a necessary antecedent to communion in the Lord's Supper. The 65th chapter of the first *Apology* relates, that after baptism the person is conducted to the assembly of the brethren, and unites with them in partaking of bread and wine. The 66th chapter opens thus: "This food is called by us *Eucharist*; of which it is not lawful for any other person to partake than one who believes that the things taught by us are true, and who has been washed with the bath for the remission of sins and for the new birth, and who lives as Christ has enjoined."

with that of Antoninus Pius, holds a bad eminence among the active foes of the Christian religion.

The probable date of this defense is the year 138 or 139. Passing now over a period of about twenty years, we find Justin again taking up his pen as the Christians' advocate.* The youth whose familiar name he had connected in his first Apology with that of the Emperor, had himself in the year 161 become Emperor. It was Marcus Aurelius, a name with which the reader of general history associates so much that is attractive and dignified. Trained up under superior domestic influences, reverence for the Roman gods was from his earliest years instilled into his breast, and strengthened by all his recollections of an admirable mother. He loved the title of philosopher; and even while Emperor, and on the eve of marching to a foreign campaign, he read for three days to an audience of Roman citizens, as he had before done in cities of Greece and Asia,† lectures on philosophy. Poetry has also made us esteem him as a model ruler:—

Like good Aurelius let him reign; or bleed
Like Socrates: that man is great indeed.

But the very excellences which history bestows on him as a philosophic and devout Roman Emperor, coming into conflict with Christian principles, made him a severe persecutor. To his Stoic philosophy Christians appeared as wild enthusiasts; his Roman piety regarded them as impious. Deniers of the gods, neglecters of the temples, opposers of the sacred ceremonies were not to be tolerated. Accusations against the Christians were encouraged; tortures also were allowed in order to elicit confessions; and even slaves were subjected to the rack in order to extract from them testimony that might convict their masters.

At such a time Justin could not be quiet. The special occasion which excited him to prepare a second apology is related by himself at its commencement. A woman of dissolute character, whose husband enjoyed no better reputation, had become a Christian. Her mode of life was in consequence entirely changed. In the benevolence of her heart she expostulated with him and assiduously endeavored to reclaim him; but he only became more determined in his

* A difference of opinion exists as to the date of the second Apology; some writers placing it in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and others in that of Antoninus Pius, as a second appeal to the same Emperor. It does not, like the first, mention any name, but is addressed to the Roman Senate.

† Gibbon.

vices. As she suffered so much disquietude, she had nearly concluded to obtain a legal separation from him, but was induced by her friends to waive that purpose. Wearied out however at length by his faithlessness, and, in consequence of reports concerning his conduct during an absence of his from Rome, despairing of his reformation, she procured a bill of divorce. On his return to Rome, exasperated by what she had done, he lodged information against her as a Christian. She warily solicited from the Emperor leave to arrange her domestic affairs before answering to the complaint. Her request was granted, and she returned home. Thwarted thus in his plans, his revengeful spirit prompted him to prefer an accusation against the individual through whose agency she had become a Christian. Ptolemæus (for this was his name) being summoned to the tribunal, frankly acknowledged himself a Christian, and received from the prefect of the city sentence of death. During the proceedings at the tribunal, another Christian came up and protested against the condemnation of an innocent man. "You too, then," said the prefect, "are a Christian;" and condemned him also to death. Still a third Christian who had come to the spot met with the same fate.

No wonder that Justin's spirit was stirred within him, and that he determined on again making a public appeal. Nor would it be wonderful if, in the heat of scenes so exciting and with his openness and boldness, he should incense some personal enemy. The tone of this second Apology, in reference to the civil authorities, is not so open to objection as that of the first. At that time, however, a certain Cynic philosopher in Rome cherished a spite against him because he had been forced by Justin "to a tacit admission of his ignorance, or his disingenuousness," in regard to the Christian doctrine. In alluding to the hazards of the time, Justin had expressed, in this Apology, his conviction that his own life was in constant peril, and his expectation that Crescens, this Cynic philosopher, would plot his death.

At this era, pagan philosophers had entered the lists against the Christians. So long as the Christian cause did not number among its adherents men of intellectual pursuits, the attention of professed scholars was scarcely attracted towards them, unless it was with a silent disdain. But when men of literary ability, versed in the philosophy of the times, were found among the Christians, actively exerting themselves in favor of the new religion, exposing the errors and inutility of reigning schemes of philosophy, vindicating for Christian-

ity its just claims as the only true and satisfactory religion, and spreading before the light of day the vices of pretended philosophers, these men could no longer be silent. All the wit and power of ridicule, of which they were masters, they brought into requisition. The Stoic, the Epicurean, the Platonist, all saw their hold on men's regard weakened; and they summoned their resources to the effort of decrying and repelling the cause of Christ.

Of all the sects of philosophers, the Cynics seem to have sunk the lowest in point of character, and to have cherished the most bitter hatred of the Christians. The sound principle in their scheme, that man's supreme good consists in virtue, and virtue consists in resemblance to God, they abused by confining their attention to a single view of God; a view which is necessarily inapplicable to human nature. As God is entirely independent, they said, having all resources in himself, so we should seek independence of all outward things, an individual self-sufficiency. This dogma was carried so far as to produce contempt for the refinements of life, and even as it would seem for the restraints of morality. The unhumanizing element of this philosophy is regarded by some, though a different solution is easily framed,* as suggesting the name Cynics, this name being derived from the Greek word for *dog*—because in the judgment of the refined Athenians those who professed it lived more like dogs than men. The tendencies of such a scheme to savageness and licentiousness, especially in men of a stern, more particularly of a surly disposition, like Diogenes, known to every school-boy as the morose, crabbed philosopher who lived in a tub, are at once obvious; and the following description of the Cynics, copied from Semisch's *Life and Writings of Justin Martyr*, (vol. I., pp. 55, 56,) may be taken as a picture to the life: "Their outward appearance had in it something frightful. The pallium was carelessly thrown over one shoulder, and left one half of the body naked; their hair hung down long and shaggy; their nails were like the claws of wild beasts. Begrimed with dirt, girt with a large knapsack, in one hand a formidable cudgel, and in the other a book written on the back, they wandered about in swarms through the most frequented parts of populous cities. But this sordid, uncouth exterior was nothing in comparison with the internal abominations

* Ritter, in his *History of Ancient Philosophy*, suggests that the name may have arisen from the name of the place to which Antisthenes, the founder of the sect, and his followers were in the habit of resorting, namely, the Cynosarges, a gymnasium outside the city of Athens, near the temple of Hercules, for Athenians born of foreign mothers.

which went along with it. A fawning servility to gain the favor of the powerful, immeasurable vanity, an unrestrained fondness for detraction, a gluttonous appetite, insatiable avarice, and the most shameless unchastity, were the characteristic features of most Cynics. Religion and morality had, in general, for them only a relative value, as vehicles of vanity and self-interest. What wonder, then, if to people of this class the quiet dignity of the Christian conduct, the holy seriousness of Christian men and women, gave peculiar offense? The philosopher Crescens at Rome was a microcosm of this degenerate Cynicism." The bold language which Justin used in exposing this man exasperated him to the highest degree; and in all probability, according to the statements of several of the Christian fathers, he "was the prime instigator to Justin's martyrdom."

Justin, with six others, was arraigned before Rusticus, the Prefect of Rome. To Justin in particular the question was put, With what doctrines have you been conversant? I have tried all systems of doctrine, replied he; at last I embraced the doctrines of the Christians. To an inquiry respecting the belief of the Christians, he replied, We believe in God, the one Maker, from the beginning, of all things visible and invisible; and in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was foretold by the prophets as about to come to the human race, the herald of salvation, and teacher of worthy disciples. But of his infinite Deity, I as being only a man can speak but feebly; a prophetic power, I acknowledge, is alone adequate to speak worthily. For ages ago he was predicted who, I have said, is the Son of God. For I know that the prophets spake by revelation from above.

Where, he was asked, do you Christians meet? Wherever, he replied, each one chooses, and is able to meet. Do you think that we all assemble in one place? Far from it. For the Christians' God is not limited to place; but, being invisible, he fills heaven and earth, and by the faithful is adored and praised in whatsoever place. To a more definite inquiry, Justin in reply mentioned the place of his residence in Rome, and his practice of instructing any that chose to call on him. You are then, finally, a Christian? This was the deciding question. Justin met it promptly. Yes; I am a Christian.

After inquiries put to each of the six, the Prefect turned to Justin, and asked in derision whether, in case he should be scourged and be beheaded, he should ascend to heaven. I hope, he replied, that I shall receive its gifts, should I thus suffer. For I know, that to all who live agreeably to the

doctrine of Christ, this divine blessing is secured. Do you suppose, then, said the Prefect, that you shall ascend to heaven and there receive rewards? I not only suppose so, was the reply, but know it and am assured of it beyond a doubt. After a few similar inquiries which drew forth expressions of unwavering Christian confidence, the Prefect pronounced sentence on the whole company, condemning them to be scourged and then to be beheaded.

This event took place, according to the only record that remains of the time, in the year of our Lord 166; and about the sixty-third, some say the seventy-sixth year of Justin's age.

We have been contemplating one of the earliest Christian Fathers. He had many strong points. He is a stimulating example of religious literary activity. He was an influential man among his contemporaries, particularly in confirming the faith of his fellow-Christians. He was, perhaps, not fitted to allure those whose predilections were opposite to his own. He could rather wield the battle-axe than skilfully twine the silken cord around the hearts of those with whom he came into contest. He was, probably, too easily indignant at error and wickedness to make many conquests for truth and righteousness. Still, we have not sufficient materials to authorize a very positive opinion. We have enough to make us admire and love him, and to call forth the wish that we had more knowledge of a life so honestly and earnestly devoted to the Christian cause, and so freely sacrificed in its vindication.

ART. III.—THE EAST.

THE EAST: *Sketches of Travel in Egypt and the Holy Land.*

By the Rev. J. A. SPENCER, M. A. 8vo, pp 503. New-York: Geo. P. Putnam. London: John Murray. 1850.

ANOTHER book on "*The East*" has appeared. It comes from the pen of a Christian minister, and is therefore, as the reader might expect, specially consecrated to Biblical illustration. It is well that another traveller has visited those glorious regions, and that he has recorded for his friends his observations and impressions. The science of Biblical interpretation is *inductive*; and the enlightened faith alike of the Biblical student and of the Bible reader, alike of the traveller

in sacred lands and of the reader of his narrative, is cumulative and progressive. They who are accustomed to read daily the Sacred Scriptures in retirement, have no conception how like a home story, a tale of a grandfather, its narratives become to him who is permitted to sojourn awhile in the land where its scenes were pictured, and where its figures are still real. And he who has spent years communing with the learned in Biblical lore, in his sojourn in the country of Moses and the Evangelists, will every evening with increased surprise and delight behold the new air of real life which their pages are assuming. The large mind of a Gesenius may hold in broad, clear survey, hundreds of syntactic and etymological parallels between the ancient Hebrew and modern Arabic languages, and thousands of similarities in the past and present manners and customs of the East; and yet a youthful Rambler of a week in Eastern climes might have a clearer knowledge and a livelier faith. And, as with the narrative writer, so in a measure is it with the narrative reader. To the world of practical business men, who have but shreds of hours for thinking and reading, an hour at Gliddon's Panorama, or an evening over Stephens's Travels, is worth more than the huge tomes of Champollion and Wilkinson, and Clarke and Robinson.

Among all the countless books of Eastern travel yet written, there is not one that may not, to *all* minds, give some new view; and there is not one that is not to *some* minds the *best* of its class. For about twenty years past, through the sagacious if not liberal policy of one who has in some respects been another Hâroun el-Rashîd, Egypt, the Desert of Arabia, and Syria also, have been in a remarkable manner open to Christian travellers. Even so lately as 1816, the indefatigable Burkhardt could in no way enter and traverse these regions, other than by adopting the dress, and habits, and language, and even by professing the religion of the people of the land; travelling in the carefully sustained guise of a Muhammedan pilgrim. But the policy of Muhammed Ali, late Pasha of Egypt, made those countries, which ever since the Crusades were close shut up, so accessible to Christian travellers, that even an American stripling could roam fearless where he listed, lingering in lonely revery amid hallowed scenes. The star of that great warrior and statesman is now set; and his enlarged spirit seems not to swell in the breast of his successor. Perhaps that hallowed soil is not to be trodden long harmlessly; and perhaps for the generation to come no more new narratives will come to our sons and daughters from the

pen of the pilgrim returned from Sinai and Jerusalem. It may be, even the comparatively worthless book on the East will hereafter prove a priceless treasure.

Still more is it true that, to a certain class of minds, every well-written volume of Oriental travel is of great religious value. That of Mr. Spencer is from a husband and a friend, from a Christian pastor and religious teacher; and there is in its style the mingled attractiveness of a familiar letter of friendship, interspersed occasionally with an animated popular essay, or a fervent pious homily. To the large circle of his personal friends, and to the yet wider community of his brethren of the same Christian faith, Mr. Spencer's letters cannot but prove most interesting and instructive. The general reader and the student of the Sacred Scriptures also may find portions new and valuable.

The first perfect book, save the inspired volumes, has not yet been written. The volume of Mr. Spencer may be expected therefore to have its faults as well as its excellences. A very general fault of books of travels is the want of a *definite aim*, or the failure to adhere rigidly to an end proposed. Some may regard such a suggestion problematical, if not paradoxical; for it is manifest that not only many readers but also many writers of books of this class do not look for or seek any definite aim, and would even think it contrary to the very nature of a traveller's narrative that it should have any special end in view. Strong too is the temptation, even to the writer of scholarlike habits of mind, when in such a field as that of the teeming Orient, to wander out of his track to pluck here a flower and there a fruit; forgetful that flowers may be unseemly on a rich, grave habit, and that a nectarine is distasteful to the man satiating his hunger with strong meat. So numerous are the volumes now written on the East, that there has come to be an almost treadmill sameness in the round of observation and remark. A little of division of labor in this field would exhibit more skill and beauty of invention, more finish of workmanship, and more profitable aggregate results. Such unique productions as those of the romantic Lamartine, and of the scholarlike Robinson, stand at the head of new eras in this department of literature; and, if such writers had *followers* rather than *imitators*, more of the Eastern student's deep conviction, and more of the Oriental pilgrim's sacred fervor might be made to pervade the minds and hearts of our nation of readers. Mr. Spencer, in conformity with his character and chosen office, has made it his chief aim to gather facts and treasure impressions which

may tend to confirm the faith of his readers in the truth of those sacred volumes which God has sent us from the East, and to awaken a new attachment to the blessed religion which they teach. It would be strange if in a land of a thousand fascinating scenes, mind and pen should not sometimes unconsciously wander. In pursuing such a course of observation and remark as that proposed by the authors, there are at least these three distinct fields of investigation: 1st. The present features of the countries visited, with the habits and manners of the people; 2d. The remaining monuments of the ancient wisdom and greatness of the nations that formerly dwelt there; 3d. The traditions and historical faith of the present inhabitants.

The *present aspect of men and things in the East*—the unchanging peculiarities of climate and soil, of vegetable and animal products, and of the external habits and modes of thinking among the people—these in their stereotyped permanency of character may be made specially to illustrate the Sacred Scriptures. Go thread long Egypt, and look on its riband of black soil skirting the banks of its nourishing river, the very “marrow and fatness” of earth’s mould, pushing to quick perfection “the onion and melon and cucumber,” and other esculents so sighed for by ancient Israel; its wheat furnishing bread as in Abraham’s and Jacob’s day for all the border of the “*great sea*” and all the “*Hebrew*” land; and its “*Goshen*” pastures of clover growing faster than the countless herds can eat it; and yet behold it in all its rich and spontaneous luxuriance of productiveness, “without rain,” (as hints the prophet,) and “watered by the foot” of incessant toil. Pass through Sinai’s Desert; and, after standing under its towering, scathed, awful summit, from weeks of hungry and thirsty sojourning in “that waste howling wilderness,” *feel*, though you may not speak, the rapture with which the Israelite’s eye first fell on the green hills of that “goodly land.” Enter and traverse that land. Ride through the rightly named “*hill country of Judea*,” remarking the rocky sides of the valleys, covered with “vineyards inclosed,” and studded with their towers, all redolent with the odor of the grapes of Eshcol, and literally flowing with “honey,” (or the *grape syrup*,)* which the successors of Jacob dwelling here send still down into Egypt; while grazing herds cover the hill tops, and the land “flows with *milk*” also. Pass to the open plains,

* The Arabic *dibs*, the name given to the *grape syrup*, now largely exported from Palestine to Egypt, is evidently the same as the corresponding *Hebrew* word in the passages alluded to.

which stretch along the seaboard, the Jordan's valley, and through old Samaria; and, walking in the fields, observe the rude plough, drawn often, despite Moses's law, by a cow and an ass "unequally yoked together"; and mark too how the ploughman keeps his eye intently fixed, and cannot "look back," lest in the rocky soil his frail implement should be caught and shivered to fragments; while to clear it when clogged he bears in his hand a huge, broad-pointed, spear-like "*goad*," a fitting instrument for a Shamgar to slaughter Philistines with. And now see the sower scattering his seed on the unfenced, half-ploughed fields, by "the way-side," where the birds (from religious scruples unmolested) gather it, among "rocks" and among "thorns," or on "good ground." Linger later in the season; and behold the reaper with his sickle, followed by many a gleaner Ruth, gathering his sheaves upon the hard-beaten threshing-floor of earth, where they are "beaten with rods," or torn by the sharp rollers of the "threshing wain," or trampled by the feet of unmuzzled oxen; and then see with his long-handled "fan" (or shovel) the winnower come, throwing up the grain to the breezes, "thoroughly purging the floor and gathering the wheat into the garner." In the more rural and uncultured district observe at "high noon" the little Davids and blooming Rachels, bringing their fathers' flocks to the wells; and, when the stone is removed, descending the rude inside steps, and filling their huge pitchers, and bearing them off on their heads; while, if with your strange garb you approach and with foreign accent address them, the quick eye will catch your wish, and with anxious haste and a smile of delight the rude but sweet child of the Desert will "let down her pitcher on her shoulder" and give the thirsty traveller drink. And as eventide comes, drawing nigh where "as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" these shepherds "sojourn in their tents," observe how each little stripling goes before his flock, "calling them by name," while all "*follow*" him.

Then again leaving the country pass through the massive gates and between the crumbling walls of the Eastern city. As you stroll along the broad avenue on its outskirts, there will come sweeping by, perhaps, in glittering pageant, the chariot of the Eastern monarch, with a score of attendants "girt about the loins" and running, Elijah-like, before their master, bearing his pipe and "his shoes," and heralding with loud voices his approach. Turning into the narrow, dark streets, the ass on which you ride, like Balaam's, will oft "crush your foot against the wall," though less than an *angel* form comes to

meet you. Threading these same dismal tunnels, like the ten virgins your "lamp" with you, at some dark low door you may knock and cry "*Ephtha*," *open*, (as Christ did to the blind eyes;) and if the tardy, hesitating bolt do at last grate out of its socket, you may learn that there is a value in the promise, "*knock* and it shall be *opened* unto you." If admitted, perhaps a wrangling crowd will fill the inner court-yard; and to approach the "master of the house" you may be forced to mount the side stairway to "the house top," and address him from the upper railing which the persevering friends of the palsied man broke up that they might let the sufferer down before Jesus. And there, if you be come as "one of another nation," retiring to "the prophet's chamber" "on the house-top" and "over the wall," secluded as one unclean from Jew or Muhammedan, you may enjoy Elijah's rest, or Peter's prayer. And—*where* shall we *cease* in such a survey?

The countless new and yet unsketched scenes in this fascinating field of the descriptive traveller, invite yet a thousand pens to picture them. The elaborate work of Lane, a model of its class, has only Cairo and its immediate vicinity for its sphere of observation; the author falling into errors just so soon as he steps from his little *studied* circle. Stephens has given a few vivid sketches by a few random, sometimes reckless sweeps of his pen. Mr. Spencer has given charming pictures of scenes in Cairo, and graphic sketches of daily life in the Desert. Into the sturdy, athletic luxury of field and mountain rambling, his invalid habits seem not to have allowed him largely to enter. Varied as her ever-shifting landscapes, countless as her rocky hill-tops, are the scenes of life in "the Orient" yet reserved for future travellers to delineate.

The *ancient monuments* of "the East" furnish also many a treasure-house of Biblical illustration. For half a century past, Egypt has been opening richer and richer mines of history in the hoary ruins of her palace-temples for the living, and in her cavern and Pyramid tombs for the dead. More recently in the rocky deserts of Arabia monuments of ancient grandeur have been revealed, like volumes of the past in a sealed scroll and in an unknown tongue. And *she* too has monumental piles—sacred Palestine; and the crumbling foundations of old Hebrew structures scattered over the land, are yearly giving a clearer and more certain testimony as succeeding interpreters apply the measuring reed and prophesy over them. And now at length long slumbering Assyria, awakened, is raising her monster head and is disgorging her

corroding treasures, swallowed up and concealed even from primæval ages. To *Egypt*, the oldest, richest, and most accessible of these monumental treasures, an incomparable amount of the world's best intellect has been devoted; and richly repaid too has been its toil. Mr. Spencer in his Preface disclaims the intention of attempting in this field to do anything more than pen down the first unstudied impressions of a casual beholder. This portion of his book therefore belongs not to the critic. To those who meet him in his pages in the companionable character he has assumed, an agreeable and even profitable survey will be given.

A *third* source of Scriptural illustration offered to the Eastern traveller—one which at our day is assuming a new and even absorbing importance—is *native tradition*. From the days of Constantine the Great and of his empress mother Helena to this hour, the whole *Eastern Church* with its numerous divisions, and in the *Western Church* not only the adherents of Rome, but also a majority of Protestants, receive without discrimination and without question the whole mass of Oriental traditions relating to the Old and New Testament narratives. Old *Tomaso*,—who has led many another pilgrim besides Mr. Spencer about Jerusalem,—old *Tomaso* speaks forth the language of universal Christendom, with the exception of those who speak the *English*, and a few who use the German tongue. *Tomaso* and the world of Christendom may be on one extreme; but the proud lords of the mistress isle, and we their striplings, may be on the other extreme. It was *inevitable* that the long-bent bow should fly beyond its curve of equipoise; and it must long vibrate, ere it can be expected to acquire stable rest. It was morally impossible that the stern champions for religious reform, who rallied around Henry the Eighth, should not go beyond the limits of truth in rejecting the corruptions of a Mammon-worshipping hierarchy. Those sturdy pioneers of the Reformation who found their Master's wheat-field all grown over with tares, which the enemy during a long night had been sowing—it would have been strange if they had not verified Christ's own caution—"while ye gather up the *tares* ye root up the *wheat* also with them." The *reaction*, now seen in the men of Oxford, is manifestly the *return oscillation* in the yet unsettled, but rapidly settling question, '*What are the limits of the credit which must be given to Christian tradition?*' The smile of God and the gratitude of the Christian world will be his meed who shall find and establish the point of true rest. It might be expected that in *this country*—standing aloof as we do from prejudice on either

side, (and human mind, however gigantic, like the rocking stone, is so hung that even a breath will sway it)—in *this* country it might be expected a truly *catholic* spirit would prevail, most favorable to a just conclusion on this point. Surely there are signs that American mind is approaching that just decision.

On the general question of tradition the following is probably an established principle :—As, in a court of justice, what a man has *seen*, and not what he has *inferred*, is admitted as testimony; so, in *religious* judicature, a *tradition as to a fact* attested by the *senses* is credible evidence, while a *tradition as to an opinion* based on human *judgment* is not satisfactory testimony. Thus, tradition is authoritative testimony as to *what are the books belonging to the Sacred Scriptures*; but it is not authoritative testimony as to *what interpretation is to be given to those books*. As another illustration: the *outward mode of baptism* is a *fact* cognizable by the *senses*, while the *efficacy of baptism* is a *sentiment* recognizable only by the *judgment*. Hence in the whole Eastern Church, with all its branches, never has there been a departure from the primitive *mode of baptism*; while in the Western Church perversion on this point followed *centuries after* the whole mass of other corruptions had been current; while also the unparalleled exhibition of a rapid return to Christian truth on this point, seen in our land of free inquiry, proves that *tradition as to a religious fact* is deathless in power and priceless in value.* The history of error on the question of the *efficacy* of baptism, as to the *subjects* to whom it is to be administered, is far different; and the very extensive disuse of infant baptism prevailing in

* Not to mention the unparalleled increase of *open advocates* for the primitive mode of baptism, probably there is hardly an unprejudiced reader—certainly there is not a devoted student—of the New Testament in our land, who would not, in the main, sympathize with Mr. Spencer in his convictions and his feelings, thus recorded, at the spot where Jesus was baptized :—“ You will believe me that the associations of the place and of the time were not without their effect upon my mind : from the depth of my soul I blessed God for the privileges of His covenant sealed to us by the holy sacrament of baptism; and I seemed to myself to be looking on the solemn and touching scene of our Lord’s baptism by His messenger whom he sent to prepare the way before Him. Earnestly did I supplicate that God of His mercy would wash and purify my soul, body and spirit, by the blood of Christ Jesus our Lord; and with the deepest reverence, remembering whom I was worshipping, I bowed my head beneath the waters of the Jordan three times, and pronounced each time the name of the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, the TRIUNE GOD of our salvation.” (P. 392.)

our country, indicates a return to just views of the authority of tradition when relating to matters of *pure intellection*.*

This principle is manifestly to be regarded in discriminating between the traditions as to Scripture *localities* and Christian *relics*, so numerous in the East. The *localities* of different Scripture incidents are matters of *fact*, cognizable by the *senses*; permanent objects of sight, and capable of receiving confirmation from the Scripture narratives. The *relics* so sacredly treasured, on the other hand, are things transferable, and subject to change; and, generally, they lay no claim to the testimony of any other tradition than one relating to an *opinion* based on human *judgment*. To the *former* class belongs the tradition as to the spot where Christ was crucified; to the *latter* belongs the question as to the identity of the cross on which Jesus was hung: the *tradition even* as to that cross being, that, having been found in company with two others, and not being distinguishable from them, a miraculous cure effected by one of the three testified its identity; the tradition being therefore, as we have stated, to a matter of *opinion* based on human *judgment*.

The question as to the identity of the spot shown as the locality of Christ's crucifixion, suggests the general principles

* The following extracts from an article by Dr. Bacon, of New-Haven, Ct., published recently in the "*New-Englander*," bear on this subject:—"Published statistics of the Presbyterian Church under the care of the Old School General Assembly, show that in May, 1847, while there were in that ecclesiastical connection 192,022 communicants, the number of infant baptisms during the year then reported was only 9,837; or one infant to between nineteen and twenty communicants. In the seven Presbyteries of Albany, New-York, New-Brunswick, Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Charleston, containing in the aggregate 19,505 communicants, the proportion of infants baptized to the number of communicants varies from the ratio of one to thirty-three to that of one to twenty-one; and the average is one to twenty-five communicants. These statistics seem to indicate a wide neglect of infant baptism in that entire branch of the Presbyterian Church. We apprehend that the published statistics of the rival Assembly, and of the New-England Congregational bodies, will show even a smaller proportion of infant baptisms. How does this happen? * * * * Our Baptist brethren on the one hand, and the believers in baptismal regeneration on the other, are continually telling us that the baptism of unconscious infants is incongruous with our theory of religion. Is it so in fact? * * * * If there is in fact such an incongruity between our traditional practice of infant baptism and our accepted theory of the process by which men become Christians, the incongruity will sooner or later work itself out in some unquestionable manifestation. Either the practice, conformed to the principles alike of the Old Testament and the New, will gradually correct the theory; or the theory, embodying and harmonizing the Scriptural doctrine concerning the means and processes of grace, will overcome and expel the practice."

on which traditions as to localities are to be judged. Other things being equal, the tradition of a native of Palestine is as worthy of credit as that of a Greek, a Roman, an Englishman, or an American; and, other things being equal, Golgotha may be identified as surely as the field of Marathon, of Pharsalia, of Waterloo, or of Bunker Hill. The only two questions which can arise are these: Has any historical cause intervened which makes it possible that the tradition has been an *interrupted* one, and that the locality may have been *lost sight of*? or, Has any *moral* cause arisen which makes it probable that the tradition is a *perverted* one, and that the locality has been *purposely changed*? An instance of the action of this *latter* cause may be found in the dispute as to the birth-place of Homer, where, *in the absence of any certain testimony in the outset*, many a city wished to secure as its own the honor of his nativity; and a *second* instance was seen in the attempt (temporarily and partially made by a few mercenary Christians of the Middle Ages who had established themselves in the fertile valley about Mount Serbal) to change the locality of Sinai. The action of the *former* cause has been seen in reference to the long-forgotten sites of Troy and Nineveh; though antiquarian research may perhaps supply here the lack of tradition.

What now is the result of the application of these principles to the site of our Saviour's crucifixion and burial? The tradition has been uninterrupted, and the locality unchanged, *all* allow, *since the time of Constantine*; or since A. D. 326, about three hundred years after Christ's death. There is a chain of facts which make it *probable* at least that the tradition had been an uninterrupted one prior to that era also. From the writings of the New Testament, and other sources, it is manifest that disciples of Christ lingered at Jerusalem till Titus came to destroy that city; by them the site must have been preserved in memory. John the evangelist, writing about the time of (perhaps *after*) that destruction, particularly describes, in *repeated detail*, the locality, as if to mark specially its identity. Josephus, writing a little later, mentions expressly that the Tower of Hippicus, (a permanent landmark near Golgotha,*) and a portion of the adjoining wall, was left

* The common designation, *Mount Calvary*, is certainly a very unfortunate one. It is never called a mount in the New Testament; but is rather represented as a slight rocky (*skull-shaped*, perhaps) protuberance, "*in a garden*." The name "*Calvary*," only *once* used by our translators, is only a *transfer* of the Latin Vulgate; which itself is a Latin *translation* of the Greek *κρανιον*; which even the Vulgate itself hints should *always* have been (as with a single exception it is) translated by the English word "*skull*." Surely then the primitive Hebrew, the native *Jewish*, and early *Christian* name "*Golgotha*" should be favorite.

standing. Jerome relates that "for fifty years after its destruction, until the time of Adrian, there still existed remnants of the city," and evidently during this time Jews (and Christians) had with little or no interruption been living in and around the city; for Trajan was favorable to them, and under Adrian, A. D. 132, they had become *so numerous*, that with hope of success they revolted, and for a time held possession of most of the country, as well as of Jerusalem; a fact which certainly indicates a very early return after the destruction by Titus. Then Adrian erected, on the spot which the Christians held sacred as the scene of Christ's burial, a temple to Venus; the site being known and held sacred therefore only *seventy years* after the destruction by Titus. That temple of Venus stood till Constantine's day, when he removed it. It would be difficult probably in the history of the world to find another site in proof of whose identity so uninterrupted a chain of tradition could be brought forward. It may be added that the tradition in reference to these sites is in harmony with the traditions as to the track of Jesus's passage from his trial to his crucifixion, and as to the position of the gate through which he issued from the city; and also as to the location of the prison where Peter—outside of the city—was confined, and of "the iron gate" by which he entered the city; all of which, now held as indisputable by Greeks and Latins alike, were doubtless *native* traditions. As to the *second* cause liable to impair the force of a tradition as to any historical site, (the probability that the site may have been intentionally changed,) a moment's thought will satisfy any mind. There could have been no motive surely to *change* a locality of this nature, but, on the contrary, *every* motive in *every* breast—were it the most pious or the most mercenary—*every* motive would have induced every professed Christian to retain the *true* site; for the *truth* would serve even an enemy's purpose best.*

Perhaps the chief merit of Mr. Spencer's book is his well-sustained endeavor to recall the Christian public to just views in reference to local traditions in the Holy Land. To Dr. Robinson belongs the high honor of having suggested and first most successfully employed the principle that *native tradition*

* The question of *tradition alone* here comes in review. A single *topographical* fact, however, may be suggested as one link in a chain to aid in tracing the course of the second wall of Josephus. On the street running east of the Pool of Hezekiah, and near the southeast corner of the Pool, may be seen imbedded in modern masonry four or five ranges of massive stone, in size and style of *bevel* like those at the foundation of the Tower of Hippicus; forming evidently a portion of an *external city wall*.

must be the groundwork of a correct system of Biblical geography. The whole world of subsequent investigators have awarded him the meed of praise; but in following out his principle able scholars have been led (as was to have been expected) to differ from him in some of his conclusions. Mr. Spencer has ably urged the authority of the tradition not only in reference to the scene of Christ's death and burial, but also of his birth* and ascension. Happy indeed that pilgrim to Jerusalem who can cherish in enlightened sincerity such a faith. That man is little to be envied who can survey with indifference the home of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and who treads without the emotion kindled by faith on the soil once pressed by Jesus' feet and stained by his tears and his blood. And yet there are those even whose "feet stand within *thy* gates, O Jerusalem!" and from mere national prejudice, from bigotry against bigotry, and from incredulity at credulousness, they can stifle the rising of holy enthusiasm in their breasts, and rob themselves of an ecstasy of pious delight, which may be vindicated as both rational and enlightened. The haughtiest Eastern bigotry has a rock of truth for its throne; and the blindest Eastern credulity has a sun-light from heaven to make it radiant. If the Eastern Christian cannot, like the gospel-read disciple of the West, give a "reason of the hope that is in him," he can and he does give a reason for his faith in the facts of the gospel such as only the sojourner in the home of the gospel ever has known or felt. The enlightened believer of the West, who can avoid both the Scylla of prejudice and the Charybdis of credulity, who can listen to the story of Tomaso as he goes about Jerusalem in the same measure of credence with which he hears the tales of Washington's old servant at Mount Vernon, gains such real knowledge, builds up so substantial a faith, experiences such a rapture of Heaven-sent enthusiasm, as seldom on earth falls to mortal's lot. To mingle for months with the lineal descendants of Abraham and of the first followers of Jesus,—to observe how, as a man of fourscore years thinks and speaks of his childhood as no more distant than when a single score of winters had passed over his head, so these children of a hoary antiquity speak of Abraham as we do of a grandfather, and speak of his history as confidently and as familiarly as we do of a man of the last generation,—and especially, living

* In alluding however to the "Grotto of the Nativity," and the probability that the evangelists would have *mentioned* it if it had been a *cave* in which Jesus was born, Mr. Spencer in common with many others forgets that the *stables* in the East are *caves*, just as universally as they are of wood among us; and that everywhere the poor may sometimes be found inhabiting them.

yourself the meanwhile in the very land of the Scripture narrative, and listening thus day after day and month after month to their confident traditional tales of their Bible-honored ancestors, to mark how the pride of these children of such an ancestry is touched, and their sensibilities are wounded, when any foreigner doubts their veracity and the truth of their narrative, just as an American's cheek would burn to look on a sneerer at the story of Washington,—he must be less than a man who does not come at last to have his soul infused with the spirit of the atmosphere in which he breathes; and he can hardly be a Christian who should not return from such a sojourn a more instructed, a more confident, and a better servant of God.

A hint or two for a *second edition* of the author's work, and a suggestion or two to those who shall take his book as a traveller's guide, and the reviewer bids Mr. Spencer a fellow-voyager's "God speed." Nothing but a natural attachment to Sir Walter Scott's "Dominie" could have led the author to make the hero of Gaza bear his family name; and nothing but his severe illness, and the drenching rain, could have prevented his seeing how majestically Olivet towers over Jerusalem from the first point of view on the road coming from Jaffa. The follower and admirer of Mr. Spencer will pardon a dogmatical hint or two: Ramble much and far in the country; *carry no arms*, if you would maintain respect and avoid difficulty; and, finally, give *backshish* to men employed *with system*, and to mendicants *from principle* as well as *with system*.

ART. IV.—GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.

It has been the lot of every new theory to be opposed. Just in proportion to its supposed importance is the degree of resistance which is made to its claims. Columbus advanced a new geographical theory, on account of which he was everywhere ridiculed, and was suffered to languish for years deprived of the power to test its truth. Copernicus was denounced and imprisoned as a heretic for proclaiming his splendid theory of the solar system. Fulton was considered a spendthrift visionary, when he attempted to reduce his theory of navigation by steam to actual practice. And when Carey with his coadjutors announced their sublime plan of

winning a whole hemisphere of pagans to Christ, their theory was pronounced by a distinguished Review "too absurd to waste contempt on." We do not complain of this opposition to new theories. Indeed we highly approve of it. Otherwise falsehood might occupy a niche consecrated to truth, be worshipped as such by deluded thousands, and exert its deleterious influence upon them without suspicion and without resistance. Scientific men, well knowing the scrutiny to which their theories will be exposed, and unwilling to peril their reputation, are led to be more careful in adopting new theories, to be more rigid in examining their claims to truth, and to wait with greater patience the slow process of collecting and arranging evidence. Hence many false theories die away in the minds that conceived them, while true ones come forth from their authors' brains strong and mature at once, like Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, from the cleft head of Jupiter. Sir Isaac Newton concealed his great theory of universal gravitation for twenty years because a certain motion of some of the planets did not coincide with it. But at length he solved the difficulty of that motion, found its law to agree with his hypothesis, and then triumphantly published it to the world. What a rebuke is this to tyros, who run to the press with their crude notions, and publish at the same moment their ignorance and folly!

Christians are often found to stand side by side with philosophers in opposition to new theories. Knowing as they do the immense value of divine truth to man, jealous of the honor of their Redeemer, and aware of the unwearied and insidious attempts of infidels to discredit revelation, they are ever ready to resist any system which appears to clash with the Word of God. This is perfectly right. It is what might be expected from their piety and zeal. But theirs should be a candid and intelligent opposition. They should be willing to examine the new theory with patience. It may be true, and as all truths agree, the Bible has nothing to fear but everything to hope from real science. It may be false. Then they have the means of proving its falsehood, and of applying the antidote to the bane. Christian ministers especially should always have the moral courage to investigate whatever claims to be truth, however opposed it may seem to be to revelation, provided it exerts or is likely to exert a considerable influence upon public opinion.

Geology, which claims to be a science, is even now but a new theory to multitudes. By some it is considered only as a theory of the world at variance with established cosmogo-

nies, as visionary and untrue, while others bring against it the graver charge of being hostile to the Scriptures, and oppose it as a powerful weapon in the hands of infidelity to wound the cause of Christ.

Christians may leave scientific men to settle its claims as a theory of the earth, but they should examine it closely and rigidly to know whether it is a friend or a foe of the gospel, or, in other words, whether it is true or false. The most accomplished minds in the world are now directed to Geology. The results of their labors are penetrating the common mass of minds, and their statements, whether right or wrong, must have a great influence in society. Educated and pious men should strive to guide public opinion on all the great questions of morals and religion; but how can they do so, unless acquainted with subjects which seriously affect those questions? If geology is true, it must agree with the Scriptures, rightly interpreted. The God of nature and the God of revelation is one God. If the facts of geology seem to sustain its theory; if, aside from revelation, the theory appears to be true, and yet it contradicts some statements of the Scriptures, then the cause of the discrepancy may be in our translation or interpretation of those statements. May not philology and sacred criticism change our views of certain portions of the Bible, so as to cause them to harmonize with geology? Or may we not discover principles in geological science which shall so far modify its details as to make them harmonize with the Scriptures as now interpreted?

That there are facts connected with the crust of our earth no one can deny, whatever may be his theories; and that there are facts in revelation is equally certain, however we may interpret the Scriptures. Between some of the facts in different sciences there can be no comparison, because they have no common points of similarity or contrast. They are in different classes, and refer to different things. But when facts come into the same class, and refer to the same thing, they may be examined in reference to each other. For example, there are no facts in redemption which are in the same class with the facts of geology. Hence revealed religion, meaning now by that term the plan of salvation by Jesus Christ, has nothing in common with science of any kind. But natural religion, meaning by that the history of man and his habitation, has facts in common with many sciences. It is through natural religion that philosophical skeptics attack revealed religion. They seek to level the outer walls in order to reach the citadel. It is around the camp of revela-

tion that the Gogs and Magogs of science bring up their heavy artillery. It is in natural religion alone that the Bible and Geology meet and can be compared. The creation of our material world is a fact common to both. Both refer to it. Both make statements concerning it, and these statements are supposed by many to be contradictory and irreconcilable. The Bible is generally understood to say that our earth, from its original elements to its perfect finish, was created in six literal days. But Geology asserts that creation must have occupied many thousands, if not millions of years. Here then the two are at issue.

Again, the Bible is supposed to assert that death came into our world as the consequence of sin; hence that death did not occur until after the creation and fall of man. But Geology affirms that myriads of animals lived and died at immense periods before man was created, and of course before he sinned. Here again the Word of God and human science appear to be at variance. It is upon these two points only, viz.: the age of our earth and the time when death first occurred, that the Biblical and geological statements seem opposed to each other.

We do not refer to the creation of the heavenly bodies as a point of contradiction, partly because such an examination belongs to the astronomer rather than to the geologist, and partly because but little attention has been directed to it. Our principal object in this paper is to show that the Bible and Geology, though apparently conflicting in two particulars, are really harmonious.

Before entering directly upon proof of this harmony, it may be well to state a few facts which will tend to relieve Geology from the suspicion of being opposed to the Scriptures.

Our greatest geologists are also our best theologians and Christians. Among them are found ministers of the gospel, presidents of colleges, professors in theological seminaries, missionaries of the cross, and others, who deservedly enjoy the fullest confidence of the Christian church. Of these may be mentioned Bakewell, Eure, Mantell, Buckland, De La Beche, Smith, and Chalmers, of Europe, with Silliman, Eaton, Rodgers, Mather, and Hitchcock, of America. These distinguished friends of revelation are unanimous in the opinion that ages must have elapsed between the creation of the elements of our earth and the formation of man. We do not know of an infidel geologist. All who read with intelligence the writing of God on the crust of our earth, also read with

equal faith his writings on the sacred page. Infidels have indeed caught up some of the results of geology at second hand, carried them out to unwarrantable lengths, and sought to turn them against the Scriptures. Voltaire did so: but he was no more a geologist than he was a theologian.

Portions of the Bible have received new interpretations to make them agree with the facts of science. It is well known that the Copernican system was at first declared to contradict the Scriptures, and was warmly opposed by the friends of religious truth. It asserted that our globe revolved around the sun, while the Bible plainly said that the sun rose and set around the earth. Nay, men could see the sun move through the sky, and could feel that the earth stood still. Hence Scripture was confirmed by the evidence of their senses. But, while all now admit that Copernicus was correct, who supposes that divine truth received an injury? It was soon understood that the Bible used language in a popular, not in a scientific sense, and it was interpreted accordingly.

It is to be expected that the progress of science, as well as of literature, will give rise to new and more accurate interpretations of some parts of the Bible. We believe that the Scriptures are divinely inspired, that is, that holy men were aided in writing them by the Holy Ghost. He moved them to write. Out of the mass of materials which existed in their minds, he directed what to record and what to omit. When their knowledge failed, he furnished them with truths. He also guided them in the use of words, so far at least that they should accurately express what was to be revealed to man. But though the writers of Scripture were inspired, the readers of it are not. They are left to the ordinary exercise of their minds to understand the Bible as they would any other book. Human language was the vehicle through which divine truth was to reach the human mind. But written language is only an imperfect medium of communication of thought. As a glass window intercepts some rays of light, colors others, and bends others in various directions, so language conceals, distorts, and perverts some ideas, while it permits others to pass through in virgin purity. As light also in passing from a rare into a dense medium becomes refracted, bent out of the true direction; so truth, which succeeds in penetrating through language without harm, often finds itself bent and twisted out of shape on entering the dense ignorance, stupidity, and prejudice of many minds. Language also changes. Words become obsolete, or acquire

new meanings. Society forgets old customs and adopts new ones. Moreover there is not and there never can be a universal language. Hence the Bible has been frequently translated with more or less ability, commentaries without number, and some of them almost without end, have been written, and preachers have been divinely appointed; all which facts go to show that language is but an imperfect medium for the transmission of thought, and consequently that received interpretations and translations may in some particulars be erroneous. While all that is essential to salvation is known, there may be valuable truths which have not yet penetrated through the words that contain them. Who can say that he accurately understands all parts of the Book of Daniel, or of the writings of John? Who has yet descended to the deepest meaning of our Saviour's parables? There may also be interpretations of Scripture which have long been received by the church as true, which will ultimately be found to be false. Philology and sacred criticism are the legitimate means to extract truth from its entanglement in language. These sciences are yet in their infancy. Hence, as the principles of grammar are better understood, as manuscript copies of the Scriptures are collated with severer industry, and as history throws a stronger and steadier light upon the past, we may expect that some changes will be made in received interpretations. Of this we have an illustration in one of the ordinances of the New Testament. The Bible has been supposed to teach, and is now widely supposed to teach, that sprinkling was baptism, and that infants were proper subjects. But philology, criticism, and history have wrought a mighty revolution in the minds of multitudes upon this subject; so much so indeed, that the man who now attempts to defend the old interpretation by appeals to the original Scriptures, forfeits from that moment all just claim to the character of a linguist or Biblical critic.

As sacred literature in some cases changes the interpretation of God's Word, so we may expect that true physical science will do the same. This was the case, as we have seen, with astronomy, which completely altered the interpretation of a few passages of Scripture, and that too with the consent of philology and criticism. Geology may work similar changes in a few other passages of Scripture, especially when its theories are more perfect than now. Nor should this science be suspected of hostility to the Bible if, even in its present state, it proposes that some such alterations should be made.

The points in which the Bible and Geology agree are more numerous than those in which they seem to disagree. They agree, for example, that all the present dry land was once under the ocean; that water and fire produced the great changes which have occurred in the earth; that after matter was created, the work of creation proceeded by intermediate steps; that the present races of animals and vegetables have been on the earth but a few thousand years; that man was among the latest creations, and that the future destruction of our globe by fire is an event to be expected. Here are six important points in which they agree. In two points only do they seem to differ. These considerations should relieve Geology from all suspicion of being hostile to the Bible, and should prepare the way for a candid attention to its statements.

We shall now attempt to show, as briefly as may be, why geologists claim for the earth a greater antiquity than seems to be assigned to it by the sacred writers. Their theories are formed by profound reasoning on facts, which they have observed in the earth's crust. These facts refer, first, to the appearance of its mineral masses, all of which they call rocks, and second, to the fossil, organic remains which are found in those rocks. We shall call attention first to the rocks themselves, stating some of the facts and then the theories.

The earth's crust has been examined to the depth of about ten miles, and is found to be divided into five distinct strata or coats. Each stratum is also divided into a variety of strata, coats or beds. The lowest stratum is solid rock, crystalline and unstratified. It is called primary. The next stratum is solid rock, but stratified; layers being placed over each other like the leaves of a book. This is called secondary. The next stratum is not perfectly solid rock, but is also stratified. It is called tertiary. The next stratum is not at all solid rock, and is but slightly stratified. It is composed chiefly of coarse sand and gravel, with some clay, but its peculiar mark is a multitude of large rounded masses of rock, called boulders or lost rocks. This stratum has received the name of drift. The last stratum consists of layers of loam, sand, and fine gravel, in nearly horizontal beds. It constitutes the outer covering of the earth, and is called alluvium.

There are several hundred volcanoes in our earth, sending out fire, gas, and melted rocks. These volcanoes are ascertained to be tall chimneys, reaching from immense depths to

the surface of the globe. In addition to these, there are thousands of thermal springs, geysers or boiling springs, which are proved to have an exceedingly deep-seated source of heat. Further than this, by boring into the earth in what are called artesian wells, and by examination of deep mines, it is ascertained that the temperature of the earth regularly increases as we approach the centre.

The oceans are extensive and deep enough to have all the dry land, with its continents, islands, and mountains, levelled over their beds, and yet completely cover them.

As a general rule, the centres of our highest mountain ridges are composed of primary rocks—the lowest of the five strata; and the other strata rest against this in regular order outward. The primary rock, however, is tilted up nearly perpendicular. The secondary rock is less perpendicular, and every succeeding stratum is still less elevated than its predecessor.

From these facts, well established, the following theories are formed:—

The centre of the earth is filled with various materials in a state of intense heat. From the examination of artesian wells and mines already mentioned it is found that the degree of heat forty-eight miles below the surface of the earth is sufficient to melt all known rocks; while at the centre, or 4,000 miles below the surface, the heat must be 577,000 degrees. Volcanoes are the earth's safety valves.

Primary rock was originally the outer crust of the globe, and received its present character from intense heat from within and the immense pressure of water from without.

The whole earth was once covered by an ocean.

The secondary class of rocks are sediment, deposited mechanically and chemically by the ocean, and consolidated by various agencies.

The tertiary rocks were also deposited by the ocean, but after certain changes had occurred which made its sediments of a different character.

The drift was formed principally by immense icebergs, congealed in the polar regions, and bringing southward fragments of mountains which they dropped by friction on the bottom of shallow places in the ocean, or which they distributed when dissolved. Hence the boulders, which are so common in New-England and elsewhere.

The crust of the earth was elevated above the ocean by the force of central heat,—mountains by convulsions, and continents by rocks expanded by heat.

The alluvial stratum was formed by running water carrying

into lakes and seas the particles of mountains which had been worn off by atmospheric influences, and of plains through which rivers passed. The alluvial is the thinnest stratum by far of all the five; it being not much more than a few hundred feet out of at least ten and perhaps out of fifty miles. But thin as it is, it is agreed that it would take about 6,000 years to form it. If so, how many thousand or million years would it take to form all the other strata of rocks?

The earth was raised to its present height above the ocean, not by one effort, but at several epochs. This is inferred in part from the position of mountain strata. The primary rock was thrown up to a certain height, and remained there long enough for the ocean to deposit the whole secondary formation, which may be a mile or two thick. How many ages would that have occupied? Then the primary rock was upheaved again, bearing the secondary rock with it. Again nature rested until the ocean had deposited the whole of the tertiary stratum, several miles thick. How many ages would that slow process have required? Again the primary rock was tilted up on end, bearing up the secondary and tertiary with it. Then how many ages would have been consumed in the formation of icebergs, and in sending them, with their load of rocks hanging underneath, until the whole drift series was accumulated? If 6,000 years were occupied in making the alluvial stratum, again we ask, how many millions of years were employed in making all the strata below the alluvial?

We shall now ask attention to the organic remains contained in the crust of the earth, and shall state facts and inferences as before.

The primary rocks contain no organic remains whatever.

The alluvial rocks alone contain the remains of man and of existing species.

The secondary, tertiary, and drift strata contain the remains of vegetables and animals which have generally perished from the earth. These begin with the more imperfect organizations, and become perfect as we ascend. The *secondary* rock has little else than sea-weeds and sea-shells in its lowest bed; then follow swimming fishes, reptiles, insects, birds, &c., of various kinds. The *tertiary* rocks contain *plants* of a more perfect character, such as poplars, willows, elms, and chestnuts; *shells*, amounting to more than 4,000 species; *birds*, such as the owl, quail, lark, vulture, pigeon, duck, and raven; *fishes*, seven extinct species; *animals*, such as the ape, rhinoceros, elephant, rat, and ox; *insects*, 162 genera. Some of these rocks are composed wholly of the shells of micro-

scopic insects, so small that forty-one billions of them occupy only a cubic inch ; yet single rocks of their remains are found one thousand feet thick, twenty miles wide, and eighty miles long !

From these facts it is inferred, that the earth has experienced a number of distinct formations, and at each formation after the first was fitted for the habitation of certain vegetables and animals, which, at each new formation, were destroyed to make room for others of a more perfect organization. At one time there was nothing to be seen but heated rock, covered with a boiling ocean and a rarified atmosphere. Then were seen small portions of land covered with marshes, and seas filled with rude fishes. Then continents, with upheaved mountains, and smoking volcanoes, and grass-covered plains, covered with birds and beasts, among them the gigantic *Iguanodon*, one hundred feet long, and fifteen feet in circumference. And after successive changes appeared man, and such things and beings as exist around him. This idea of progressive change in our earth seems to be confirmed by the splendid discoveries of astronomy, to which we can barely allude. It has been ascertained that the universe is filled with worlds, some of them existing, like comets, in a state of vapor, some partly condensed, others solid, and others in decay. As in a forest there are trees in every stage of progress, from the little germ just appearing above ground to the lott oak, and on to the aged and dying trunk, so in universal space there are worlds in all stages of formation. Our planet is not an exception to the general law. It began with elements expanded by heat to a state of gas. Perhaps they were a portion of matter thrown off by the sun. These elements were condensed. A crust was formed filled with fire and covered with water and air. Various changes occurred by which the earth was fitted to sustain life. Life was placed upon it, and just such life as was suited to its condition. A change occurred in its condition. All this life was destroyed. It was covered again with a new and higher kind of life. And thus by successive changes it was fitted for the life of man. It is to be changed again : man is to be swept off from its surface ; and who will inhabit it next none but the Creator knows. But it is certain that immense ages must have been occupied in the lifetime of all these successive generations of animals and plants.

It is also inferred that man was created after all the strata were formed, from the fact that his remains are found only in the alluvium. Human bones are as imperishable as those of

thousands of animals whose remains are found in all the other strata. Had man existed before the alluvial period, his fossil remains would have been discovered in the secondary, tertiary, or drift. How many ages then must have rolled by since the elements of the globe were formed, and previous to the creation of our race! We are prepared to say thousands if not millions of years.

But how can this idea be made to harmonize with the statement of Moses that the whole earth, from its original elements to its present finish, with all its species of inhabitants, was formed about six thousand years ago, in the space of six literal days? It is evident that either the theory of geologists as to the age of our earth is untrue, or that the account of the sacred writer is not correctly understood. We are persuaded that the latter supposition is correct. The facts of geology are unquestionable, as to the various strata of rocks, their chemical and mechanical character, their thickness, their position, and as to their organic remains. The inferences drawn from these facts have been made with great caution by sober-minded men, and are supported by reasoning which seems irresistible. Our only hope of harmonizing these conflicting accounts is to examine the Bible, and to see if it is not susceptible of a new interpretation. This we should do with great care and reverence. We ought to say, however, that three theories have been suggested by friends of the Bible to make its account of creation harmonize with the statements of Geology, without any new interpretation. These persons, it should be remarked, are unacquainted with geology, or they would not have mentioned these theories.

The first is, that God created the earth in the six days, just as it now is, with all its various strata of different rocks, and with all their millions of organic remains. We admit that this is possible, in the sense that all things are possible with God. But such a supposition is opposed to analogy: for rocks are now forming and inclosing within themselves organic remains; mountains and continents are being elevated and depressed; whole species of animals are becoming extinct; land and water are changing places;—in short, the same process is constantly going on now, which Geology affirms has been going on for millions of years. Nor can we conceive that God would create an almost infinite variety of shells and skeletons, which were never connected with living existence.

A second theory is, that the deluge of Noah produced the present appearances of our earth. To this supposition facts

are entirely opposed. 1. The Noachian deluge occurred since the present races were created; hence their remains ought to be found in all the fossiliferous rocks, and as much in one class of rocks as in another. But the organic remains in all rocks below the alluvial are different from those which now exist. Moreover, there is a regular decrease in the perfection of animals and plants as you descend towards the primary rocks, where all traces of them cease. Dr. Mantell beautifully says: "As the traveller, who ascends to the regions of eternal snow, gradually loses sight of the abodes of men and of the groves and forests, till he arrives at sterile plains, where a few stunted shrubs alone meet his eye; and as he advances even these are lost, and mosses and lichens remain the only vestiges of organic life; and these too pass away and he enters on the confines of the inorganic kingdom of nature;—in like manner the geologist, who penetrates the secret recesses of the globe, perceives at every step of his progress the existing forms of animals and vegetables gradually disappear, while the shades of other creations teem around him; these, in their turn, vanish from his sight,—other new and strange modifications of organic structure supply their place; these also fade away,—traces of animal and vegetable life become less and less manifest, till they altogether disappear, and he descends to the primary rocks, where all evidence of organization is lost, and the granite, like a pall thrown over the relics of a former world, conceals for ever the earliest scenes of the earth's physical drama."

Again, the Noachian deluge was tumultuous, but the rocks are stratified, showing that their materials were mostly deposited in still water; and the Noachian deluge continued but a year, a period too brief to deposit rock from ten to forty miles in thickness.

The third theory is, that the fossiliferous rocks were deposited during the period between the creation and the deluge. There are various reasons why this could not be so, one of which is sufficient. There were but 1,600 years between these two events: since the deluge twice 1,600 years have elapsed, and yet the rocks formed in that time are only about a thousandth part of the entire thickness of the fossiliferous rocks; which proves that the period between the creation of man and the deluge of Noah was immeasurably too short a time for the deposition of the whole strata.

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These theories, it seems to us, are without foundation in facts.

If we admit that the geological theory of the age of the world is substantially correct, it follows then that a change must be made in the interpretation of the Mosaic statements. This being the case, we must turn from the examination of rocks and organic remains to the inspection of words and phrases. We leave physical science and make use of philology and criticism. Here we should remember that the Bible was intended to give the moral history of man, his moral duties, and moral prospects. Hence it does not use terms with the accuracy of science, nor does it reason with logical or mathematical severity. Its language is popular, and moreover, ages have passed away since it was spoken or written by any people. There are three words in the Mosaic account of creation, which have lately been examined with rigid criticism, and of which new interpretations have been given. These are the words "*day*," "*earth*," and "*beginning*."

On the word "*day*," there are two principal interpretations.

First, that *day*, means often an indefinite time as well as period of twenty-four hours. That the six days were six indefinite periods of sufficient length for all the facts of geology.

Second, that *day*, was a literal period of twenty-four hours, standing at the end of an indefinite time. The theory of both these interpretations is, that Moses describes the whole of creation from the elements of matter to the formation of man; that it took place in six distinct epochs of immense length, during each of which God made a distinct creation. One fatal objection to these theories is, that the fossil remains of vegetables, reptiles, birds, &c., are found together in the same strata; showing that, from the earliest ages, they existed together on the earth; whereas, if animals had not been created until thousands of years after vegetables, then animal remains should not be found as low down in the strata, by miles, as vegetables are. But in fact they exist everywhere together.

The word *earth*, has been criticised. This word sometimes means the whole globe, and sometimes districts or countries. The theory is, that Moses meant by the earth only that portion of it where man was created. The sacred writer means that in six literal days God prepared a part of Asia,

raised it above the waters, dispersed vapors from above it, caused it to receive light from other planets, covered it with vegetation, occupied its woods with the present species of animals, and filled its rivers with fish. Thus prepared, God created man and made him the head of all the inferior tribes.

This theory, though sustained by powerful reasoning, seems to want the support of geological facts; and as God evidently intended the whole earth to be the habitation of man, we see no good reason to suppose that he should not have prepared it at once, rather than by small portions. Especially does it seem that the atmosphere and light must have extended around the globe.

The phrase *בְּרֵאשִׁית*—*in the beginning*, has been examined. We have now come to what we believe to be the true interpretation. The theory is this: that the creation of man and of existing things was the work of six literal days, and that the phrase “in the beginning” does not refer to the first of these days, or to a period immediately preceding them, but to those immense ages in which the elements of the earth were progressively prepared, and in which thousands of races of animals lived and perished. As the Bible is a history of man, it properly commences with his creation, just as a biography begins with the birth of its subject. But the question may be asked, Why was the first verse of Genesis, viz.: “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,” written? Short as it is, it reveals, several important facts. 1. Matter is not eternal. It had a beginning. 2. It was not the result of chance. It was created. 3. It was not self-created, nor was it the work of any angel. God created it.

Having laid down these great principles, the inspired writer passes over in silence the wonderful scenes which Geology unfolds, and comes at once to the epoch in which man began to live.

This theory is in conformity with philology and criticism. It does violence to no part of the Sacred Scriptures. It makes the least possible change in the usual interpretation, and causes the Bible and Geology to harmonize.

We now come to the second supposed disagreement between Geology and the Scriptures, viz.: in respect to the period when death entered our world. This subject can be investigated with brevity.

The Bible says, Romans v. 12: “By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; so death passed

upon all men, for that all have sinned." From this passage two inferences are made. First, that there were no instances of death previous to the sin of Adam. Second, that if Adam had not sinned he would never have died.

Geology asserts that death committed its ravages in our world thousands of years before man was created, consequently before he sinned, and in proof points you to the innumerable fossil shells and skeletons which exist in all the fossiliferous rocks. There are vast mountains and large islands composed almost entirely of the beautiful shells of infusoria and of other animalculæ, some of which are so small that thousands of them weigh only a grain. And there are solid rocks, far down in the earth's crust, which contain many immense and strange skeletons of such creatures as the *Ichthyosaurus*, the *Iguanodon*, and the *Pterodactyle*. Will any one venture to say that these shells and skeletons were never associated with life? Says an eloquent writer, "After nearly seventeen centuries had rolled away, the city of Pompeii was disinterred from its silent tomb, all vivid with undimmed hues; its walls fresh as if painted yesterday; not a tint faded on its rich mosaic floors; in its forum the half-finished columns, as left by the workman's hand; before the trees in its gardens the sacrificial tripod; in its halls the chest of treasure; in its baths the strigil; in its theatres the counter of admission; in its saloons the furniture and the lamp; in its triclinia the fragments of the last feast; in its cubicula the perfumes and rouge of faded beauty; and everywhere the skeletons of those who once moved the springs of that minute, yet gorgeous machine of luxury and life." Now who will say that this city was created as we find it? Who will affirm that the silence of death was not preceded by the noise and animation of life? Surely no one. And is not the proof that the shells and skeletons of the most ancient rocks were once connected with living creatures, as conclusive as that the animal remains of *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii* and *Stabiæ* were once alive?

Comparative anatomy has revealed that many species of the fossil animals were carnivorous; hence from the very necessities of their natures they must have killed and devoured other animals.

The microscope has discovered living creatures of such surprising minuteness that multitudes, perhaps many millions, exist in a drop of water; other multitudes live on every blade of grass, and yet other multitudes are found in every inch of air. Hence the herbivorous animals must have crushed the

life out of thousands of living things every time they drank, ate, or breathed. Thus it seems that the assertion of Geology, in regard to the antiquity of death, is founded on sufficient facts and is unquestionable. It was in the world before man sinned.

But how can this fact of geological science be made to harmonize with Saint Paul's statement already quoted? With the usual interpretation of that text Geology is for ever at variance. But cannot an interpretation be made, which shall reconcile the two statements, and at the same time be satisfactory to all intelligent Christians? Four different interpretations of the apostle have been made in view of this object.

First interpretation.—This turns on the word "sin." It agrees with geology that death reigned in our earth many ages before man was created. It agrees with the Bible that sin was the cause of death. To reconcile the two statements it affirms that Paul alludes to the sin of angels and not to that of men. The fallen angels, being hostile to God, endeavored on all occasions to interrupt his designs. As soon as he covered the earth with its first living inhabitants, they, by their power over the air, produced in all organized bodies the seeds of decay and dissolution. When man appeared they involved him in sin and death. This theory is ingenious, but environed with objections. It must prove, first, that angels existed previous to the elements of our earth, and second, that they sinned before the first animal died. Moreover, the Bible asserts, Rom. v. 12, that "by man sin entered the world," and 1 Cor. xv. 21, that "by man came death." This explodes the idea that angels caused it.

Second interpretation.—This is founded on the extent of death. It admits all the assertions of geology on this subject to be correct, and affirms that Saint Paul referred, not to the inferior animals, but to man. The sin of man caused the death of man. Had Adam remained holy he would have never died. According to this theory sin caused such a change in man's physical organization, that from being immortal he became mortal. Of this we have no adequate proof.

Third interpretation.—This refers to the kind of death. The Greek word θάνατος, translated death, means either temporal, spiritual, or eternal death. This interpretation affirms that the apostle used it wholly in the latter sense. It agrees with geology, that temporal death had existed from time immemorial. It affirms that man would have died a natural death whether he sinned or not. And it agrees with the Bible, that sin caused death to man, understanding

by this term eternal punishment beyond the grave. Dr. Emmons has ably reasoned in favor of this interpretation. But it appears that, although spiritual and eternal death were included in the threatening of God to Adam, temporal death must also be included: for, in pronouncing sentence upon Adam, Jehovah said, Gen. iii. 19, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it thou wast taken: for dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return."

It may be said that temporal death could not have been meant, because God said, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die:" but Adam did not die physically that day. There are two answers to this objection: 1. The Hebrew is *מוֹת תָּמוּת*, that is, "dying thou shalt die." You shall begin to die that day. 2. On that day you shall be condemned to die.

Fourth interpretation.—This is founded on the manner of dying a temporal death. This interpretation fully agrees with geology. Death had long been in our world before man entered it. Man also would have ultimately died, even if he had remained holy to the end of his probation; that is, his soul and body would have been separated: but in case of holiness, the separation would have been a calm and pleasant change. The effect of sin was to make death painful and terrific. "The sting of death is sin."

But something more than a painful departure from the world is, we think, included in temporal death. Had Adam persevered in holiness, the separation between his soul and body would have been short. That is, he would have been divested of his gross, material organization, and have at once been clothed with his spiritual body. All those systems, such as the skeleton or osseous, the venous, the arterial, the muscular, and the gastric, which are not needed in heaven, would have been left for ever on earth, to return to their original elements; while some vital part, perhaps the etherealized nervous system, clothed with beauty, would have been at once and for ever the habitation of the soul. But sin postponed this union. It laid the whole body in the grave. It deferred until a distant resurrection day the re-appearance of the vital principle, and thus diminished the happiness of man.

In addition to this, we doubt not but spiritual and eternal death were also included in the sentence.

This interpretation then is, that sin did not cause universal death: for myriads of animals had died before human guilt

was incurred, and man would have had a peaceful separation of soul and body as the consequence of his organization, whether he was morally good or bad : but sin caused, *first*, a violent and painful death, preceded by sickness, disease, and infirmity ; *second*, a protracted separation between the soul and the spiritual body ; *third*, diminished happiness for the redeemed during the intermediate state ; and *fourth*, eternal banishment from heaven to all who reject the means of eternal life.

This last interpretation we believe is the true one. It removes all Biblical and geological hindrances to perfect agreement, and especially relieves the Word of God, in its account of death, from difficulties and objections.

Having thus given our views upon these two points in which Geology has been thought to be opposed to Revelation, we gratefully express our increasing love for the Scriptures. Venerable for age, yet enjoying the vigor of perpetual youth, beautiful for style, faithful as histories, sacred as the depositories of divine truth, often attacked yet always victorious, they are our guides, our defenders, and our best friends. Their testimony is always in agreement with the works of God, their author ; and, though it becomes the modesty of new sciences to test their truth by the sacred oracles, yet the Bible is always willing to be tested by the sciences. With all kinds of truth Revelation always coincides. Over all kinds of error it is sure to triumph.

We also express our love for real science, believing that the works as well as the Word of God glorify him and benefit man. Especially do we believe that the science of geology is worthy of investigation, not only for its religious uses, but also for its mental discipline, its attractiveness, and for its intimate connection with the whole range of human learning. There is a romance, a beauty, a strange exciting interest in it, which none but the initiated can understand. If we read with such deep emotion of the exhumation of ancient cities, with their palaces and temples, in Central America ; if we descend into the now subterranean Herculaneum and Pompeii ; if we gaze on the vast mounds in Mesopotamia, while modern enterprise unburies the long hidden Nineveh, and displays the idolatries and magnificence of the proud Assyrian, with what deeper emotion shall we behold the resurrection of extinct races, and read in them, as in strange hieroglyphics, the eventful history of a pre-human world ?

He, who gave his Son for man's salvation, also gave his works for man's improvement, and in both is worthy to be loved and to be adored.

L. P.

ART. V.—THE RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY
TO THE STATE.

It is not much to the credit of human wisdom that after the experience of near six thousand years, the world has not agreed as to what is the relation of religious teachers to the civil State. Were it not for some recent changes in Europe, the question would seem to be kept at rest, as it has ever been in the Old World, by the law of the strongest. But this law has never yet been found strong enough to prevent all inquiry and discussion. The two theories, as distinct as the two great continents of our globe on which they are respectively held, are so entirely antagonistic, that when they come to grapple, as they have never yet done, but as they inevitably must, in fair, open conflict, one or the other must be finally vanquished.

The relation of religious teachers to the government of their country is a subject of grave interest. Civil government and the Christian ministry are both from God, mercifully and wisely appointed to save mankind from some of the mischiefs and miseries which spring from their own depravity. But those who agree that the Church and the State are of divine origin, that the office and authority of magistrate and minister rest on the same foundation, differ widely in opinion respecting the proper adjustment of their relations, and the limitations of their powers, rights, and duties. Some trace the legitimacy of civil government to the divine right of kings, transmitted by lineal descent from the first man who was born to rule; and the validity of the Christian ministry to the divine right of prelates, through what they call an apostolic succession. Others believe that all the rights of government are originally vested in the people, that all legitimate civil power flows from their suffrage, and that all the ecclesiastical authority possessed by any minister is derived from the election of the church which has called him to the sacred office. How mighty must be the effects on national as well as individual character, which the one or the other of these conflicting theories, incorporated into the civil and ecclesiastical polity of a nation, in its origin, will produce in the course of its progressive development through a thousand generations.

It is but a short time since the latter of these two theories has been allowed to work out any practical results. The relation of the Christian ministry to the civil government in the United States of America, is the standing puzzle of European Christendom. When those whose theories of government have been adopted in the schools of politics and religion in the Old World, are told that our government includes no church as one of the estates of the realm, no bishops nor clergy, priesthood nor ministry supported by tax nor by any form of civil enactment, no form of religion established or favored by law, they conceive us to be little else than a nation of infidels, destined to a speedy overthrow. They doubt not that religion, unsupported by the State, will soon die out; that patriotism and public virtue will die with it; leaving us exposed to civil anarchy, to become, in turn, the sport and the tools of tyranny.

A political system without clergy, priest, or prophet, is, indeed, a new thing under the sun. It is altogether an *American* idea, at least in practice. It was hailed by the Deists and Atheists of France, and by the enemies of Christianity throughout the world, as a pledge of our deliverance from what they call superstition; loyal Churchmen, with lengthened visages, predicted for us the speedy doom of all people who reject God; while the Romanist, knowing the close affinity of unbelief with superstition, gloated over the prospect of a rich harvest to his garner, as the fruit of our ungodly errors.

We shall cease to wonder at this, when we consider that the testimony of history is against us. When has a nation risen to greatness without a State religion? And what government has long stood which did not unite the priestly with the political function? In the patriarchal ages the same dignitary officiated in the council, on the bench, in the field, and at the altar. Job was a magistrate and a priest; Melchisedek was both a king and a priest of the Most High God, and Abraham was both a magistrate and a priest. The father-in-law of Joseph, the priest and prince of On, was the Egyptian Archbishop of Canterbury of his time. The father-in-law of Moses was both high priest and civil ruler of Midian. His own office included both civil and religious functions. The Hebrew State, being a Theocracy, contained no provision for the exercise of the legislative function, neither by kings, nobles, or commons, nor by representatives of the people in General Court or Congress assembled; for their laws were given them by special revelation from God.

The custom of uniting both sacred and civil functions has

prevailed under all forms of religion. In early times, when the distinction between the legislative, judicial, and executive departments of government was unknown, it was the more necessary that the magistrate, whose rule was law, and who held the sword to execute his decrees, should fortify his authority with all the sacredness and mystery of the popular religion, or superstition. The ancient civilization, and arts, and social polity, were closely interwoven with the prevailing religious symbols. The remains of ancient Egypt, gathered from the ruins of Thebes and Dendera, which strip the Acropolis and the Parthenon of the glory of antiquity, and show them to be modern structures,—mere imitations of ancient art,—teem with proofs that Egypt was, from the earliest times, ruled by religious ideas. Her rulers and teachers were the ministers of her sacred mysteries. The emblems of those ideas which stirred the hearts of her people so deeply long before Abraham's visit to her king, found among the fragments of her fallen temples, her catacombs and pyramids, show the great influence of her religion and priesthood in her political institutions. And if the Egyptians were indebted for the germs of their civilization and arts to a still more ancient source, as some facts would lead us to believe,—to Ethiopia or to India,—the same union of civil and religious functions also prevailed in those countries. So that an eminent historian declares that “in all countries, and through all ages, religion and civil government have been so connected that no history can be given of either without reference to the other. In the early ages religion was the common care of all men; a sacerdotal order was unknown; the patriarch, or head of the family, was chief in religious, as well as in civil concerns. The eldest son succeeded regularly to the right of sacrificing; to the right of being priest of the family. When younger sons became fathers of families, they also superintended the domestic religion, each in his own household, and performed the domestic sacrifices; the patriarch and his successors remaining chief priests of the tribe. This order of things passed, remarkably unvaried, to Egypt, to Greece, to Rome, and very generally throughout the world.”*

Thus the history of learning, of the arts, of civilization, and of government, from the earliest times, is interwoven with religious ideas; and the history of the religious ideas of the human race is identified with that of the *ministers* of religion. Every student knows that the history, the poetry, and the tragedy of Greece and Rome are not only filled with the

* Mitford's Greece.

religious ideas of the people, but owe their very existence to the power of those ideas. Homer represents his heroes as under the direct protection of the gods, to whom they paid the most devout reverence, and by whose special favor they obtained all their success. Virgil describes "pius Æneas" as warned in a dream by his deceased friend Hector, on the night of the capture of Troy, to fly with the images of his gods. Prevented from building the city of Enos in Thrace by a miracle, he goes to Delos to consult the oracle. Next we find him at Actium, engaged in the worship of Apollo. Driven by a supernatural tempest to Africa, he is torn from the embraces of Dido by the command of the god, and is cast on the Sicilian shores. By another series of miracles he is brought at last to the banks of the Tiber, where he marries the daughter of King Latinus, and becomes the ancestor of the founder of the Eternal City. In all this the poet represents him more as a saint or a prophet than a mere adventurer. His mission is a *religious* one, and in its accomplishment he is guided and protected by the special agency of the gods. The history of Rome, first as a monarchy, then as a republic, then as an empire, is not more a history of conquests, of the progress of learning, of the arts, of civil polity, and of law, than of an established State religion, and of priests as officers of the State. The policy of pagan Rome was to worship all the gods she could hear of. More catholic than her misnamed and degenerate descendant, she legalized every form of worship, and strove to incorporate every sacred element, gathered from all the tribes of the earth, into her omnivorous State policy.

The history of all tribes and nations, whether following a migratory, nomadic, or predatory mode of life, or gathered into cities, or consolidated into states and empires, shows that their religious ideas have been the soul of their civilization and arts; and that the ministers of their sacred rites have been recognized as such in their civil polity, and taken a prominent part in its administration. To the truth of this remark, the records, the inscriptions, the monuments, and the traditions of all climes and ages, gathered from the ruins of Palmyra or from Stonehenge, from Balbek, that Eastern "City of the Sun," or from Cuzco, its Peruvian namesake, and perhaps coeval, if not predecessor in antiquity, all add their testimony. But the United States of America, just sprung into being among the nations of the earth, scarcely yet known in history, has attempted the innovation, of a civil government without a sacred order of priesthood or clergy.

as officers of State, and without a religion established and supported by law. We must have some reason to give for this great departure from the beaten path of human experience, extending through all ages.

If, therefore, the testimony of history proves that human society cannot exist without government and laws, it equally proves that civil government cannot exist without religion co-operating with the civil authority. Her lessons teach us, not only that man is by nature a religious being, but that religion is the *law of his being*; that it is as necessary to the development of his organic national life, as to the wants of his spiritual nature. Not only can no instance of a civilized people without a religion be found, but the degree and perfection of civilization has been uniformly graduated by religion. It is agreeable to the universal sentiment of mankind to confide in the integrity and the patriotism of religious men; to believe that those who hold God and sacred things in highest reverence, would be just and faithful in things secular. So deeply settled is this belief in the human mind, that neither the sneers of atheists, nor centuries of gross priestly misrule and ghostly oppression have been sufficient to overthrow it. What was more natural than that civil and religious functions should be united?

But in the face of all these facts, the Constitution of the United States makes even no mention of God, nor of the duty of men to worship Him, nor of any order of men who are to be received as the expounders of His will. It does not require that men elevated to offices of trust and honor shall be of any specified religion, or even have any religion at all. It is impossible to tell, from the instrument itself, whether the people of the United States are Christians or Pagans, Jews or Mahometans, Buddhists or Atheists. The only passage which refers in any way to religion is in the first article of amendments, in a few words, as general and negative as possible, thus: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Which is only saying that Congress shall not undertake to make the people religious *by law*—and there is certainly very little danger of their doing it by example—nor shall they restrain them by law from practising any sort of religion to any extent they choose.

The Constitution of Massachusetts recognizes, in the most solemn manner, the authority of God, the benefits of public worship, and of instruction in piety, morality, and religion; provides for freedom in religious worship, guaranties the right

of all religious societies to elect their own teachers, and forbids the subordination of one sect to another by law. The *laws* provide that wherever a minister of the gospel is settled and ordained to the ministry, he acquires a legal settlement in the town,—a provision which appears to be very wise as well as merciful, since their migratory habits are such that if they should become subjects of legal charity it might cost much trouble to fix their citizenship. They are excused from military duty, and from serving as constables or jurors, and they are authorized by law to solemnize marriages, and to have access to prisoners in jails and houses of correction, to assist in their reformation; and they are required to use their endeavors to induce youth to attend the public schools. Beyond these few and simple references to ministers of the gospel, as matters of municipal regulation, the statutes of the Puritan State contain no recognition of the existence of such a profession or class of men. The policy of the other States of the Union is, in all essential features, entirely similar.

The civic customs of the United States, and of the individual States, are conformed to this policy. It is customary for both Houses of Congress to elect a minister of the gospel to serve them during the session as chaplain, whose duties are to offer prayer at the opening of each daily session, and to preach once on each Sabbath in the Capitol. A similar custom has prevailed in the State Legislatures, most, if not all of which, have their sessions opened with prayer. In our municipal celebrations it is customary to invite some clergyman to offer prayer, and in the arrangement of civic processions it is customary to assign a place for the "Reverend Clergy." In all other respects the ministers of the gospel are regarded as citizens merely, neither gaining nor losing in civil rank or privilege, by being ministers of Christ.

How great the contrast between our condition and that of the apostles and early Christians! In the eye of the law, they preached a *religio illicita*; and to the people they appeared to be setters forth of strange gods. It was their lot to be the leaders of the greatest religious revolution recorded in the world's history; and religious revolutions are of all others incomparably the most difficult and surprising. Historically and philosophically speaking, no event is more improbable than that a people will change their national and patriarchal religion. "For pass over the isles of Chittim and see; and send unto Kedar and consider diligently if there be such a thing: hath a nation changed their gods?" Although Paul possessed the far-famed privilege of a free-born Roman

citizen, he could not give utterance to his deep religious convictions without continual danger of lawless violence, imprisonment, and degrading corporeal infliction. With what feelings should we listen to an American citizen, of blameless life, extensive learning, polished manners, and noble eloquence, as he narrated his travels through *our* country, and gave an account of his preaching, to hear him say: "Five times received I forty stripes save one, thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned; I was in stripes above measure, in prisons frequent. . . . Being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat." We should forget that our missionaries at the West ever slept in log-houses, and we are inclined to think, should not bear it quite so patiently as did Paul. Yet he was neither ignorant of his rights, nor destitute of spirit to maintain them. With an ardent love of liberty, and a native freedom of soul which was keenly sensitive to any indignity, a moderate share of religious feeling infusing its energies into such a temperament as his, would have made him a political revolutionist. Instead of meekly saying, "I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death," his voice would have been heard at the head of battle, animating his followers to vindicate their rights; or, at least, on the platform of some anti-oppression society, advocating resolutions, and thundering out philippics against tyrannical laws. With the touching eloquence of a lion soul sensible of the civil wrongs which he suffered, yet subdued and gentle, willing to suffer even without the credit of suffering, he says, "Whether we be beside ourselves it is to God, or whether we be sober it is for your cause; for the love of Christ constraineth us: . . . giving no offense in anything, that the ministry be not blamed, but in all things approving ourselves the ministers of God, in much patience, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults." Despoiled of all rights of earthly citizenship, he consoles himself and his brethren with the assurance that "our *citizenship* is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ;" and he cheerfully renounces all earthly privileges for the hope of becoming a fellow-citizen with the saints.

How different is the relation which ministers in the United States sustain to the civil power. The hearers of the apostles lived under a government which they had no agency in creating. They are addressed as the *subjects* of government existing without their agency; not as the *citizens* of an elective democratic State. The political maxims of the apostles are therefore brief but comprehensive. "Let every soul be

subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God : the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God ; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." And this *subjection* is required, "not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake." To this rule the apostles made no exception by precept, but by example they refused obedience to the magistrate when obedience to him would be disobedience to God. But as soon as Christianity became a popular religion, it was seized upon by crafty and ambitious rulers as one of the engines of State policy. As such, it has been made use of by the governments of Europe, as paganism was before it, to the present day.*

The Reformation of the fifteenth century was the commencement of a new era, not only in respect to religious doctrines and modes of worship, to the progress of learning and philosophy, but to the social and civil rights of man, to religious liberty, and to church polity. While the Germans, as usual, took up the department of speculative thought, the more practical, liberty-loving Anglo-Saxons, applied the glorious principles of the German Reformers to man's practical life.

With notions of civil and religious liberty derived from the best lights which England and Germany afforded, this country was colonized. But the entire separation of Church and State was not contemplated by the first settlers generally. During the existence of the colonial system, the union of Church and State, under different forms, was nearly as perfect as in Eng-

* That this statement may not appear too strong, take one of the mildest examples ; that of the English Church Establishment, for illustration. According to a statute passed in the reign of Henry VIII., "The king, his heirs, &c., shall be taken, accepted, and reputed, the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England. He shall have power, from time to time, to visit, repress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, &c., which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, may be lawfully reformed."

By another act, it is declared, "Your Majesty hath full power to exercise all manner of jurisdiction, commonly called ecclesiastical jurisdiction," and that "archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but by and from your royal Majesty"! No one can be admitted to the ministry in the Established Church, except he first subscribe to the declaration that the king is the only supreme governor of the realm, in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things, as temporal ; and if any one denies the king's supremacy in religious matters, he is liable to excommunication.

Says the Rev. B. W. Noel, "The Establishment can neither amend one of the articles of its creed if erroneous, nor add to their number if the creed be defective, without the assent of the State. Without the concurrence of the State, it cannot meet to enact a canon, nor enact a canon when met, nor execute a canon when enacted. It cannot execute discipline upon offending clergymen, or others, except in courts of which the State appoints the judge, and from which the State receives appeals. And, lastly, the State both nominates its prelates, and determines by law the appointment of all its pastors."

land. Their complete separation after independence was secured, and the national and State governments were established, was chiefly the result of unforeseen circumstances and events, rather than of any far-reaching doctrine or policy. New-England was settled by the Puritans, who fully intended to make theirs the established religion; New-York by the Lutheran Dutch, with similar principles and purposes; Pennsylvania by the Quakers; Maryland by Roman Catholics made liberal by Episcopal oppression in Old England; Virginia by adventurers and impoverished English cavaliers, who retained a bigoted attachment to their Episcopal forms, and gave them the strongest supports of law; in Georgia, the Wesleys and others had given to Methodism a leading influence in the colony.

When these colonies, smarting under a sense of their common wrongs, took up arms against the British Government, they forgot for the time their differences of religious opinion. After the struggle was over and independence was secured, and a new form of government was to be framed, it was apparent to all that the tenets of no one sect could be the established religion of the country. It could not be Romanism, for that faith prevailed in only one inconsiderable State; it could not be English Episcopacy, for although one State, proudly styling herself the "Old Dominion," had early established and rigidly upheld it by law, yet so unseemly had it behaved itself, that her own people were already casting it indignantly away; it could not be Puritanism, bearded and terrified in her chosen stronghold by the indomitable Roger Williams, humbled too and conscience-smitten by the thrice-told tale of her disgraceful superstitions and cruelties; it could not be Lutheranism, nor Methodism, nor Quakerism, on account of their feebleness; and Baptists had, from the beginning, strongly advocated the entire separation of the religious from the civil concerns of the country. Great was the odium which they incurred by advocating a doctrine stigmatized as atheistic, subversive of all religion, virtue, and government. But the framers of our national and State Constitutions soon found themselves compelled, either to leave religious concerns to the voluntary action of the people, according to this very Baptist doctrine, and confine the civil authority to temporal matters, or to abandon all prospect of a peaceable and happy national Union, and split up these infant States, weakened by a grievous war, into sectional and sectarian cantons, with the prospect of endless quarrels about creeds, and dogmas, and forms of religion, to the end of time.

Thank God, the statesmen of that day had too much wisdom and patriotism to choose the latter, and the ministers of religion too much confidence in the spiritual power of Christianity, and in the favor of God, to desire it.

This peculiarity of our system, therefore, is not entirely the fruit of man's wit or wisdom. It was brought about chiefly by the providence of God. And although religion, in our country, is neither patronized nor persecuted by Government, but simply protected as one of the rights of man, yet in no country is religion or its ministers more respected, even by the public functionaries, than in ours. Few, if any, of the legislative assemblies of Europe, where religion is established by law, have their daily sessions opened with prayer.

The United States are the only nation on earth whose civil polity was founded on Christian principles. It is scarcely possible to estimate the advantages which have already accrued to us, and which are yet to accrue to hundreds of millions of the human race, from this circumstance alone. Every other Christian nation has been converted from heathenism. The consequence is, that while the people and the governments are nominally Christian, their civil institutions and religious polity still remain heathen. *Caste*, that odious fruit of heathenism, still holds its pestiferous sway in Church and State throughout Europe. Even British intelligence and love of liberty have not yet been powerful enough to exorcise Church or State of this demon of heathenish procreation. It is still the doctrine of the British Constitution, that one part of mankind were created to be lords, and the rest to be serfs; and its roots have struck through every part of their Ecclesiastical Establishment.

Nations have been converted to Christianity, but the conversion of the institutions of a country to Christian principles is a phenomenon which yet remains to be seen. They have all carried over the practice of making religion a part of their State policy from the heathen to the Christian State, retaining the practice of caste, so that the ranks and orders of archbishop, bishop, prebendary, dean, priest, and deacon, remain in the Church, co-ordinate with earl, marquis, lord, and baron, in the civil State; equally objects of ambitious desire as similar civil and religious orders in the heathen polity for which it was exchanged. Happily, the foundations of our institutions were laid by the clear light of Christianity shining on the history and workings of this half-heathen, half-Christian system. The settlers of New-England, whose opinions and customs are rapidly leavening this nation, were jealous of all

artificial distinctions. They were even more jealous of caste in the Church than in the State. For, while it was no part of their original design to found in America "a State without a king," they were indomitable in their determination to have "a Church without a prelate." They would much sooner have remained loyal to the king than have stooped, as did the Episcopalians of this country after its independence was established, to receive bishops by a special dispensation of the British Parliament, so as to be, in some poor sort, recognized as a Church in apostolic succession by bigoted royalists and prelatists in England. They were inflexible in their determination to have their church polity, according to their ideas, thoroughly Christian. Its unforeseen fruits have been, political republicanism, and the separation of religious from civil affairs in the United States.

The contrast between the position of the ministry in this country and in Europe is very great in another particular. The expense of supporting Catholic worship in France is about twelve millions annually. Before the Revolution of 1789, it was twice that sum. In Spain, a large proportion of the landed property is in the hands of the clergy. Its four archbishoprics are said to be the richest in the world. Italy is governed by ecclesiastics, who receive about three and a half millions of dollars from the revenue. But England pays to her clergy the enormous sum of nearly seventeen millions of dollars annually. In the United States, a larger number of ministers, of all the various denominations, ministering to a much larger number of people, probably receive a little more than four millions, or one fourth of that sum. The average amount which the ministry or clergy of all countries, Catholic and Protestant, England excepted, receive from each hearer, is about twenty-two cents; the average in the United States may be estimated at about thirty-nine cents; while in the English Establishment it is more than three dollars.*

* According to Mr. Noel's statistics, the total net income of the English Church Establishment, in 1836, was £3,439,767; but according to the table in the *Encyclopædia Americana*, the annual revenue of the clergy of Great Britain is £8,896,000, or £44,000 more than the aggregate of all the other ministers, Catholic and Protestant, throughout the world; and the average from each hearer more than six dollars! Mr. Noel does not tell us whether he includes the interest on the palaces and estates of the prelates. The annual income of six out of twenty-eight prelates was \$411,380; that of the Archbishop of Canterbury amounting to \$92,840. Within a few years, the sum of \$692,187 has been expended in improving the residences of eight of the bishops. At the same time there were in these eight dioceses 502 working clergymen, whose united salaries amounted to only \$242,968, or but a little more than one third of the sum lavished on the "episcopal palaces;" each house costing, on an average, a sum equal to the annual salaries of 178 minis-

The temporal estate of the ministers of religion, in any country, must be attended with corresponding effects on the character of the ministry, and on the political and religious welfare of the people. For in spite of all theories of apostolically descended grace, transmitted through sacred channels, the ministry or the priesthood of every nation has always come from the people. Their character must always depend on that of the people, unless government interpose to make it worse. One way in which God punished the degenerate Jews for their wickedness was, by sending them priests from themselves, as wicked as themselves, so that there was like, people, like priest. So on the other hand, the religious, intellectual, and political progress of a nation depends on the character of its religious teachers, more than on all other causes.

The Christian ministry, as a distinct and perpetual institution, founded by Christ, to continue to the end of the world, has now existed through almost two millenniums, and yet the question, What is the true and proper position of that ministry in the civil State? is unsettled. It is still a mooted question both in the Church and in the State.

If we bring this question to the bar of constitutional law for judgment, the decision is, that the minister is a citizen like any other man. He is neither more nor less than a man, and a citizen. He needs, and is entitled to, the same protection of person, property, and representation, as any other citizen; and is equally bound to obey the laws. He neither gains nor loses any political right or immunity, by assuming spiritual functions. The old statute law of England, though intended for the good of the clergy, was a violation of natural right. It exempted clergymen from arrests in civil suits during their attendance on divine service, as well as from punishment, though guilty of any number of manslaughters, bigamies, or simple larcenies; while a layman, even if a peer, must suffer on a second conviction. This singular exemption of clergymen from punishment for felony, called the *privilegium clericale*, or *benefit of clergy*, which afterwards obtained so prominent a place in English law, was first granted to the earliest missionaries by royal favor, but was claimed by the Popish priests before the English Reformation, as their inherent, indefeasible right, *jure divino*, because they were God's ministers. In support of this claim, they said it was written,

ters in those dioceses! Well might Sydney Smith ask, "Why is the Church of England to be nothing but a collection of beggars and bishops? The right reverend Dives in the palace, and Lazarus in orders at the gate, doctored by dogs and comforted by crumbs?"

"Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm;" a method of reasoning which assumes that felony is so entirely consistent with the prophetic character, that any punishment for it is a violation of the prophet's right; a doctrine very necessary to the safety of the Popish priesthood, even to the present day.*

On the other hand, clergymen were deprived of some of their natural rights. They were forbidden to hold a seat in the House of Commons, nor could they be elected to any temporal office. They were forbidden to take lands or tenements to farm, to keep a tan-house or a brew-house, or to sell merchandise by way of trade. The old Constitution of the State of New-York excluded all priests and ministers of religion of every denomination from holding any civil or military office, but this provision was very properly left out of the new Constitution, adopted two or three years ago. The reason assigned for thus taking away a part of the natural rights of ministers was the same as for the English law referred to, *that they might be entirely devoted to the cure of souls*. This may be a good reason why a minister should not *accept* of a civil office, but is a very singular reason to be given, by grave legislators, for depriving him of his rights as a citizen. It assumes that they understood the minister's duties better than the minister himself, or were more conscientious than he. They might as well have extended this disability to the lawyer, that he might devote all his time to his clients; to the physician, that he might devote himself wholly to the cure of his patients; or to the cobbler, on the plea that he might devote all his time to the cure of the *soles* of his customers' boots. It was easy to see that this apparently very pious reason was a sham, and a stigma on the ministry. For if the minister is not entitled to any special political *privilege*, he surely deserves no political *privation*. If his spiritual function make him no *more* than a citizen, it surely makes him no *less*.

But it is argued that the nature and design of the minister's office and work, require that he should enjoy some special

* No ecclesiastical privilege had occasioned such dispute, or proved so mischievous, as the immunity of all tonsured persons from civil punishment for crimes. It was a material improvement in the law under Henry VI., that, instead of being instantly claimed by the bishop on their arrest for any criminal charge, they were compelled to plead their privilege at their arraignment, or after conviction. Henry VII. carried this much further, by enacting that clerks, convicted of felony, should be burned in the hand. And in 1513, the benefit of clergy was entirely taken away from murderers and highway robbers. An exemption was still preserved for priests, deacons, and subdeacons.—*Hallam's Constitutional History of England*.

rank and privilege in the State. He is God's messenger, and has a claim to special honor and rank on that account. His mission has most important bearings on the temporal as well as eternal welfare of his countrymen. It is argued, and with truth too, that a gospel minister is as really a minister of law, order, and justice, as a civil magistrate. Then why should not the State support him? As Dr. South argues, "The money given for preaching must be given away, if not for churches, then for more jails; if not for houses of prevention, then for houses of correction; and it is as good economy to support religious teachers, as to support more watchmen and busier hangmen, to raise new whipping-posts and pillories."

The question whether the glory of God and the good of the people will be promoted by securing to the Christian ministry special rank, privileges, and immunities in the State, cannot be determined by the principles of natural and constitutional law. It must be referred to the Scriptures, and perhaps some light may be drawn from history.

The polity of the ancient Hebrew commonwealth affords no support to the Church and State theory, because there is no evidence that it was intended to be copied by other nations, but clear proof to the contrary. Its priesthood had little resemblance to the Christian ministry, and as an experiment of government, the Scriptures uniformly represent it as a failure.

It is true, that by an express provision of their law, a tenth of their land's produce was to be given for the support of the priests and Levites. But this was a divine appointment for that people, and not a state law. Neither king, nor nobles, nor parliament, nor even the whole people had a right to make the slightest change in the law which regulated religious matters. There was no power in the nation which could enact any ecclesiastical statute. The priesthood was appointed by God himself, who nominated the first high priest, and fixed the principle of succession in his family, by lineal descent. No compulsion of payments for the support of religion was allowed. The obligation rested solely on the command of God. It was a fundamental principle, that whatever was given for the support of religion, or its ministers, must be a free-will offering. If tithes were not paid, a prophet, not a policeman or sheriff, was sent to stir up the delinquents. He was armed, not with a warrant of distrain, or in more strictly legal terms *distress*, as Puritan constables were in later days when Baptists refused to pay the parish tax,—but with a message from God, thus: "Will a man rob God? yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed

thee ? In tithes and offerings." If this did not effect the payment, the delinquent was left to the judgment of God. He allows no human dictation to enforce the payment of what is due to him.

Even the splendid and costly Temple of Solomon was built and furnished, as the tabernacle had been before it, by means of voluntary contributions. It was the invariable custom of David, during his forty years' reign, to dedicate all gifts, of which he received many of great value, to the Lord ; as well as all the spoils of his enemies won in battle. But this custom commenced long before ; so that the charge or secretaryship of the dedicated things was one of the most important offices in the government. Among these treasures, were not only those " which David the king, and the chief fathers, the captains over thousands, and the captains of hundreds, and the captains of the host had dedicated, out of the spoils won in battle ;" but there was also " all that Samuel the seer, and Saul the son of Kish, and Abner the son of Ner, and Joab the son of Zeruiah had dedicated ; and whosoever had dedicated anything, it was under the hand of Shelomith, and of his brethren." David alone had laid by " an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver ; and of brass and iron without weight, timber also, and stone," besides a more private contribution of " three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver." There is no proof that any Israelite was compelled to contribute to the building or to the furnishing of the Temple, or to the expenses of sustaining its worship ; for there is nothing to indicate that Solomon's levy of thirty thousand men were not voluntary laborers and overseers.

Nor do the Christian Scriptures afford any support to this theory of Church and State. When Christ was asked to exert his authority to secure justice in a temporal matter, he refused, on the ground that he had not been appointed to any such duties. " Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you ?" Such duties were entirely disclaimed, as not belonging to his office, as a minister of religion. It is plain that Christ's office was not in this respect like that which Romish priests have undertaken to exercise in various parts of the world. His words before the bar of Pilate,—the only civil tribunal at which he ever stood,—fully settle this question : " My kingdom is not of this world." One of the plainest possible inferences from this language is, that his ministers are not, *as such*, entitled to special rank or privilege in the kingdoms of this world.

Yet the professed ministers of Christ have sought, and secured to themselves, special privileges and immunities, in most of the countries of Europe, from the time of Constantine onward. But what says impartial history of those governments which have been most under the control of the nominal ministers of religion? That with scarce an exception they are the worst that have ever plagued mankind. Europe is groaning and struggling under the united oppression of kings and priests. The lesson which we draw from the history of Church and State is, that religion and civil law, ministers of Christ and civil magistrates, are both necessary for the preservation of order, and the promotion of the temporal welfare of a nation, but that they should operate separately and independently. The preacher and the constable, the pastor and the policeman, are all the ministers of God for good to the people, but their duties are distinct, and cannot be advantageously united in the same person. If we may be allowed so to speak, they represent those two attributes in the Divine character—justice and mercy—which the feeble reason of man has found it so difficult to harmonize, and much more difficult to unite in one human being without the one destroying the other.

If then the minister possess the simple rights of a citizen, he is subject to all the responsibilities and duties of a citizen. But it is argued that he has special duties in respect to the politics of his time. I use the word *politics* in its largest *American* sense,—for we have an American Dictionary of the English language;—not to signify mere *party* politics, but the practical ordering of public affairs in their bearings on the rights and temporal welfare of the people. Opinions and practices on this point are somewhat divided. Some ministers have left the pastoral office and the chair of Theology, to engage in the clamor and strife of politics. Others seem to be standing, like the angel in the Apocalyptic vision, with one foot on the tossing sea of politics, yet keeping an uncertain foothold on the land with the other, as if doubtful on which element to poise themselves. Some argue that the minister's office is to do all sorts of good, in all sorts of ways, by means of moral influence, by the use of his voice and his pen. They insist that it is his business to teach the people their duties on all subjects, especially such as have an intimate bearing on the public weal.

We all believe that civil government is for the good of the people, that it derives its authority from their consent,—understanding, of course, that God requires all men to have

some sort of government, and that all citizens have equal rights in forming and directing their government. The minister then cannot be justly deprived of the universal right to vote in civil affairs, nor can he be absolved from the duty to exercise that right, in all ordinary cases. He has the natural right, too, like every other man, to give free utterance to his opinions on political as well as other subjects, but the manner of its exercise must be determined by other obligations and duties. Would the most earnest advocates of free speech on the part of ministers of the gospel, in political matters, speak out their own opinions so freely if in danger of forfeiting life, or even property, by so doing? But is not the minister bound to esteem his influence, which is his Lord's capital, more dear to him than property, or even life? This question does not depend on what the minister has a natural or constitutional *right* to do, but what is his *duty*, as a minister of Christ. It is true that neither Christ nor his apostles have left on record any precept or precedent enjoining on ministers or private Christians the duty of voting in civil affairs. But they had no occasion for it, as no republican governments were then in existence, nor have we, as republicans, any need of such precepts. The grand principle of the New Testament in respect to our civil duties is this: *be faithful to every obligation belonging to a subject of the government under which you live.* This is the law and the prophets. This would require us to vote for good men for office, but not to talk or preach on politics. No man can be certain that it is his own duty to harangue his neighbors on political questions, much less can know that it is the duty of his minister to do so. In Paul's most extensive and finished discourse, written to the capital city of the world, he brings within the compass of six short verses all he had to say about the duties of the Christian citizen, and the grounds on which they rest. We take the liberty to give what we understand to be his meaning:—

‘Let every one be obedient to the civil authorities. For there is no authority but from God: those actually existing are appointed by God. So that whoever resists the authority, resists the appointment of God; and they who resist will bring punishment upon themselves. For magistrates are not the terror of well-doing, but of evil-doing. Wouldest thou not fear the magistrate? Do well; and have the praise of it: for he is God's servant to thee for well-doing. But if thou do evil, be afraid, for he bears not the sword in vain; for he is God's servant, an executioner, for punishing the evil-doer. Therefore it is necessary to be obedient, not only because of

the punishment, but of conscience also. For the same reason, pay taxes; for while attending to this business they are God's servants.'

Such is the Christian rule of obedience to the civil power, which ministers are commanded, in the epistle to Titus, to inculcate on the people. *Obedience* was all that the readers of Paul and the hearers of Titus could render to civil government. Had he been writing to a church of American citizens, who, in addition to the universal duty of obedience to civil government, enjoyed the elective franchise, the logical counterpart of these instructions would have been after this manner:—

'Let every soul consider the right to vote as a sacred trust from God, to be exercised according to His will. For He has appointed it to promote righteous government among men. So that whoever neglects it, despises the arrangement of God, and will suffer evil consequences. Wouldest thou enjoy quietness and liberty? Let thy voice and thy vote be for just laws and good men; for civil government is ordained to protect the good and restrain the wicked. Therefore sustain it faithfully by your vote, not only for your own good, but also for conscience' sake. For the same cause pay taxes and duties, for they who attend to these matters are God's servants and yours, waiting continually on the public service.'

If the apostle would give these directions to American Christians, he would say to their ministers: 'Put the people in mind to uphold good government, to vote for good men, to be ready to every good work; to speak evil of no man,—not even if he belongs to the other party, or is the candidate of the other party,—to be no *brawlers*, but gentle, showing meekness to all men.*' Perhaps the venerable apostle might be thought rather too personal towards some politicians in our modern churches—possibly towards some ministers—for using such plain language. But that he would deliver a single address, or write one epistle, to hold up, or to show up, the Whig party or the Democratic party, the Free Soil party or the Liberty party, or their candidates, is very doubtful. Still less, if possible, is the probability that he would join the Abolition Society, or the Free Mission Society, or the Irish Repealers,—though before his conversion he would have been the very man to persecute them all,—and it is very certain that he would not take part with the advocates of domestic slavery, nor of any form of political despotism. The probability is, that he would employ himself in delivering addresses

* Tit. iii. 1, 2.

and writing articles to set forth Jesus Christ and him crucified, as really the most patriotic work he could engage in. He would not content himself with discoursing eloquently about the dignity, and the sublimity, and the glory of his doctrine, but he would unfold the doctrine itself, in all its bearings on the character, and interests, and destiny of man, and the purposes of God; and urge it on the immediate and earnest attention of his hearers and his readers, even with tears. Such speeches as these he would deliver to men of all parties, as the surest means of making them all good citizens, by converting them to Christ.

Such then is the political position of the Christian ministry in America. Ministers are *simple citizens*; nothing more, either in law or in politics. They enjoy just that degree of consideration, influence, and respect, to which their talents, piety, and good sense entitle them, in the estimation of the people. The State gives them no official rank, or title, or emolument, nor does it subject them to any civil disabilities, or throw any obstacle in their way. Such things as tithes, church rates, or minister's tax, for their support, are obsolete ideas. Those who desire their services may obtain them, and pay for them or not, just as the parties can agree,—those who do not desire them, act accordingly, and pay nothing. The law merely enforces the payment of whatever is stipulated in contracts for ministerial services clearly entered into by ministers and people, on the common ground of contracts.

This brings up one more "political relation" of the ministry, not yet abolished. Yet it is a source of endless perplexities to ministers and to people. All sorts of troubles, at one time or another, have grown out of it. Parish disputes, hard words, heresies, village broils, and divisions more bitter and lasting than all the disputes about new and old divinities, new measures, church organs, lining psalms and hymns, or even the employment of evangelists, may all be traced to the existence of this relation. If it could be abolished, at once and for ever, some think there would be no apple of discord left. But how to do it, is the question. The sagacity of our forefathers found a way to abolish all the rest; but this, which some men declare to be the most vexatious of all, still remains. And it seems likely to remain, since American ingenuity has been able to discover no method by which it can be done away. If it was a mere abstract relation, it might be more easily borne with, but alas! it comes directly home, as the saying is, 'to men's business and bosoms'; aye, worse than that, to their *pockets*. It is very common to hear ministers say,

"This pecuniary relation does not trouble *me*,"—though it is not easy to repress the suspicion that in many cases, at least, their happy exemption must be traced to the same spirit of meek resignation which enabled the Vermont farmer to say he was not troubled by his breachy cattle, *because he never let such things trouble him*. If ministers were in all respects as spiritual as their functions, if they had no bodies to feed, clothe, and shelter, if their intellects required no aid from things that cost money, such as books, time for study, and means of travel, while zeal and love and knowledge were as expansive, and ardent, and constant in them as in the burning seraphs, this troublesome relation would cease.* But so long as min-

* South, a zealous advocate of a State episcopacy, in a discourse before the clergy at Oxford, thus describes the pecuniary condition of the clergy in his day: "The Christian ministry is a troublesome and a disgusted institution, and as little regarded by men as they regard their souls, but rather hated as much as they love their sins. The Church is every one's prey, and the shepherds are pilled, and polled, and fleeced by none more than by their own flocks. A prophet is sure to be without honor, not only in his own country, but almost in every one else. I scarce ever knew an ecclesiastic but was treated with scorn and distance; and the only peculiar respect I have observed shown such persons in this nation (which yet I dare say they could willingly enough dispense with) is, that sometimes a clergyman of a hundred pounds a year has the honor to be taxed equal to a layman of ten thousand. Even those who pretend most respect to the Church and Churchmen, will yet be found rather to use than to respect them; and if at any time they do aught for them, or give anything to them, it is not because they are really lovers of the Church, but to serve some turn by being thought so. As some keep chaplains, not out of any concern for religion, but as it is a piece of grandeur, something above keeping a coach; it looks creditable and great in the eyes of the world: though in such cases he who serves at the altar has in general as much contempt and disdain passed upon him, as he who serves in the kitchen, though perhaps not in the same way; if any regard be had to him, it is commonly such a one as men have for a garment (or a pair of shoes) which fits them, viz., to wear him, and wear him, till he is worn out, and then to lay him aside. For, be the grandee he depends upon never so powerful, he must not expect that he will do anything for him till it is scandalous not to do it. If a first or second rate living chance to fall in his gift, let not the poor domestic think either learning, or piety, or long service, a sufficient pretense to it; but let him consider with himself rather, whether he can answer that difficult question, Who was Melchisedek's father? or whether, instead of grace for grace, he can bring gift for gift, or all other qualifications without it will be found empty and insignificant.

"In short, everything is thought too much for persons of this profession. Though one would think, that as they are men, and men who have been at the charge of an expensive and laborious education, as much or more than most others, they ought upon that very right of nature and justice to expect a return, in some degree at least, proportionable to such cost and labor, as well as men of any other profession whatsoever: yet here it

isters continue to be men, of like passions and necessities with other men, it must continue. In other words, *money* must be had for their support.

But how shall it be raised? By means of free seats and contribution boxes? This method, to say nothing of its precariousness, places the minister much on a level with the penny lecturer or wandering piper, whose tenure on the sustenance of life is regulated by the maxim, "No song, no supper." It may serve a good purpose, temporarily, in certain circumstances, where the other customs of a people are of a corresponding character; but in orderly, thriving, intelligent communities, its inevitable tendency must always be, to sink the character of the ministry, and bring the public services of religion into contempt.

Shall it be raised by annual subscriptions, eked out by donation visits? This method, though superior to the other, places both the minister, the people, and the public services

seems religion must supersede the rule of justice and the course of nature, and the ministers of it must be required to live not only as spiritual persons, but as spirits; and upon no other ground in the world it is, but men's envying the Church a competent share of these, that all those virulent but senseless clamors of the pride, covetousness, and luxury of the clergy have been raised; so that when their insolent, domineering enemies cannot get them under their feet, as they desire, then presently the clergy are too high and proud. And when avarice disposes men to be rapacious and sacrilegious, then forthwith the Church is too rich. And lastly, when with whoring, and gaming, and revelling, they have disabled themselves from paying their butchers, their brewers, and their vintners, then immediately they are all thunder and lightning against the intemperance and luxury of the clergy, forsooth, and high time it is for a thorough reformation.

"But to disabuse the world, the true account of the pride of the clergy is, that they are able to clothe themselves with something better than rags; or rather, that they have anything to clothe them at all, and that the Church of England would (by its good will) neither have naked gospels nor naked evangelists. And then in the next place, the covetousness of the clergy is, that they can and do find wherewithal to pay taxes, and just enough to keep them from begging afterwards. And lastly, their luxury and intemperance lies in this, that they had rather eat at their own poor home, than lick up the crumbs at the end of their haughty neighbor's table, and much less under it; that they scorn to sneak here and there for a dinner, or beg their daily bread of any but God himself. The world in the meantime proceeding by no other measure with the clergy than this, to exact of them hospitality to others, and to grudge them bread for themselves."

He speaks a little after, of an opinion sometimes expressed, "that the Church and clergy of England have an interest opposite to the rest of the nation, that the whole nation ought to rise up (as one man) against them with staves and clubs and knock out their brains, as vermin and public nuisances." If this is a true account of the estimation in which the State clergy were held, the ministry in this country have not much reason to desire any nearer relation to the State.

of religion, in false and often embarrassing positions. The enlightened, liberal, and devoted friends of religion, may subscribe and pay, not as a gift or personal favor to their minister, but in the discharge of God's just claim upon them to support his worship, believing that the laborer is worthy of his reward. But others subscribe to his support more from persuasion than from principle, more from regard to public opinion than to the will of God, more to be pleased than to be profited, more from the influence of worldly than of spiritual motives; and such men regard their subscriptions as personal favors to the minister, to be given or withheld, according to their likes or dislikes of the preacher. Such men regard the ministry not so much a divine institution for the good of mankind, as a necessary evil, or burden, which must be borne, to keep greater evils in check. They believe that real estate would have been worth more in Sodom and Nineveh, if Christian churches had flourished there. They know, that without religious worship, any community will soon sink into vice and confusion, and they will subscribe to the support of the Christian ministry as the most effectual means to prevent such evils.

Where this system is adopted, the minister is employed on condition that he shall please God, the church, and the world; at least that portion of it who subscribe, or would subscribe to his support, *if* pleased. It soon comes to be generally understood that he *must* please all parties. If he fails to do this, he is regarded as deficient in his duty. Unlike any other public servant or officer, he is held under obligation to satisfy, not the majority, but every individual. If some covetous, purse-proud, conceited man of wealth withdraws his subscription, assigning, as every such man knows how to do, some dissatisfaction with the minister as the reason, the latter is often blamed when he ought to be commended. Not unfrequently is a useful minister driven from his proper field of labor by a very few individuals who are always telling what liberal things they *would do* if the church would only settle the right man.

No minister of the gospel ought to be placed in a position disadvantageous to his success. What would be thought of a proposal to place any other class of men who are called to the service of the public, in a similar position? to provide for the support of our judges, public attorneys, public officers, or assessors, by voluntary subscription? or even for the salaries of bank or railroad officers, by the individual contributions of those individuals who might be willing to reward

their services? What have the ministers of the gospel done, that they should be made a special exception to all rules for the election and support of public men, by being placed in the position of gentlemanly paupers, who have some claim on the *charities* of their hearers? If they do not seek to please all their hearers, they are blamed; if they do seek to please them, they are men-pleasers, and of course unworthy ministers. The *tendency* of the system is, to make ministers either sycophants or misanthropes, ready to cringe and flatter to obtain the priest's office that they may eat a piece of bread, or, when occasion serves, to quit a position so embarrassing in disgust.

If any suppose that this precariousness of a minister's bread, depending on keeping in the good graces of every man in his congregation, is favorable to the increase of his piety, their philosophy of man's spiritual nature must be a very singular one. Those who hold this philosophy should test it first on themselves. If such a position in society should be found to promote their spirituality, let it be thoroughly tried on the ministry. For if ministers can be starved or frightened out of their native depravity, it is a great discovery, which ought to be speedily tried upon their people.

This system places the conscientious Christian in the embarrassing necessity of being his own assessor. He knows that the divine law requires him to give for the support of public worship, "according as he is able," "as the Lord hath prospered him;" but he is liable, from generosity or from pride, to do more than his proportion, or by covetousness or misunderstanding, to do less. It injures the covetous man, by allowing him to go on in his covetousness. It tends to divide and alienate brethren from each other. It prevents churches from acting as the bodies of Christ, as they are required to do, so that, in one important department of Christian duty, each one claims the right to act in disregard of the judgment of his brethren.

But the worst fruit of this anomalous individualism where the most perfect fraternal affiliation is required, is, it places the public worship of God in a false and disparaging position. Is it, indeed, the duty of Christians to sustain the worship of God? Is it a received doctrine, that this worship is, and of right ought to be, one of the stated, permanent operations of human society, to the end of the world? Is it so, that God and man have a just claim that Christian worship shall be sustained? Then why not give it a recognized place? Why treat it as a temporary thing, a respectable poor relation,

or a beggar? Why degrade it below public schools, highways, and public pauper institutions? Why compel the worship of God to go round, annually, to beg subscriptions of the charitable to keep it from extinction? If Christians believe in the duty of sustaining the worship of God, why not openly confess it, by assuming its burdens according to the equitable principle laid down in the Scriptures, and thus exalt it to its true position? How many generations more ought to be trained up under a system which teaches, by implication, such mischievous error; which, under the semblance of voluntariness, is but the specious shift of covetousness?

Or shall the expenses of public worship be provided by means of pew rents? This system has some advantages over the others, but it has also many disadvantages and injurious tendencies. It is far above the puerile mendicancy of the weekly contribution box plan; it is more dignified, efficient, and permanent, than the method of annual subscription. It promotes regularity in the collection of funds, and order in the house of God. It has the air of commercial and business-like exactitude so attractive to business men.

But its mischiefs are, that it places the ministry too much on a secular footing. Those who pay the rents virtually elect and dismiss the preacher, on the principle that paying and voting go together. The minister soon comes to be estimated, not according to his piety, ability, and diligence, but his power to please an audience by his public addresses. If he keeps the pews full, whether by sense or sound; by convicting his hearers of sin, or by tickling their fancies, by preaching Jesus Christ and him crucified, or a mixture of politics, moral reform, and nonsense, he will, in most instances, keep his place. Few churches have the moral strength to dismiss a minister so long as he keeps their house filled with fashionable hearers, who go down the broad aisle exclaiming, "What a splendid sermon!" although he might be sadly deficient of real ability, solid, useful learning, deep habitual piety, pastoral faithfulness, and wisdom in counsel. The loss of such a minister might bankrupt them. If a minister is to be chosen, he must be a safe man for the finances. This is the first inquiry. Let it be understood that a minister pays well, lifts his society out of debt, and puts their stock at a premium, and he is sure not to lack for calls, especially from churches badly in debt. It requires as much worldly wisdom to select a profitable minister as a horse that will do the most work in proportion to his oats. No one is surprised

to see worldly men, who attend worship to be gratified with fine architecture, music, and oratory, acting on these principles; but when church members say openly, that in the choice of a minister they do not go for the most pious and instructive preacher, but for the *good of the society*, that is, for the man who will *pay best in pew rents*, it is time to examine the soundness of the system itself.*

* But either of these methods would be less vexatious to the minister than to be obliged to obtain his salary by compulsory tithes, in the manner of the clergy of the established religion in England. As an offset to the sarcastic grumbling of South, who describes the workings of the State Church system in his day, the playful lines of Cowper present an amusing picture of "The Yearly Distress, or Tithing Time," in some "verses addressed to a country clergyman, complaining of the disagreeableness of the day annually appointed for receiving dues at the parsonage." Truly, the "troubles of a worthy priest" in his time were not lighter than in the days of South:—

For then the farmers come, jog, jog,
Along the miry road,
Each heart as heavy as a log,
To make their payments good.

In sooth, the sorrow of such days
Is not to be expressed,
When he that takes, and he that pays,
Are both alike distressed.

Now all unwelcome at his gates
The clumsy swains alight,
With rueful faces and bald pates—
He trembles at the sight.

And well he may, for well he knows
Each bumpkin of the clan,
Instead of paying what he owes,
Will cheat him if he can.

At length the busy time begins,
"Come, neighbors, we must wag,"—
The money chinks, down drop their chins,
Each lugging out his bag.

One talks of mildew and of frost,
And one of storms of hail,
And one of pigs that he has lost
By maggots at the tail.

Quoth one, "A rarer man than you
In pulpit none shall hear;
But yet, methinks, to tell you true,
You sell it plaguey dear."

O why are farmers made so coarse,
Or clergy made so fine?
A kick that scarce would move a horse,
May kill a sound divine.

The real evil which lies at the foundation of this system is, it is a shrewdly devised mercantile plan to raise funds for the support of public worship by offering religion to the highest cash bidder. Instead of conniving at the love of hoarding, like the subscription plan, it presents a lure to the love of show. It tends to separate the rich from the poor, and contravenes the equitable rule ordained by God, that every man shall give as he is able. Churches come to depend so much on the outward accidents, the sights and sounds of worship, that the sword of the Spirit loses its edge, and fails to do its work. The grand principle, that the CHURCH is the body which is responsible for the support and the ordering of the worship of God and the choice of the minister, is overlooked, and the spirit of the world neutralizes its testimony.

It is not maintained that the evils which have been described are the uniform or unavoidable results of the systems objected to, but such are their general tendencies. Either of these systems, or any other, might work well in the hands of intelligent, liberal-souled Christians, or be useful for a time in certain circumstances.

The best method of procuring the funds necessary for the support of public worship, is, unquestionably, that which conforms most nearly to the equitable principle laid down in the Scriptures: "Every man shall give *as he is able*, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God which he hath given thee."* This is the principle laid down in the divine law, respecting the pecuniary support of the worship of God. It needs no argument to enforce its authority. It commends itself to the conscience and common sense of every man. It is simple equity. No one but a covetous man, or a fool, can fail to perceive or to acknowledge its justice. The apostle recommends the application of the same principle to the charitable collections of the churches;† a principle which the church at Antioch had adopted for the same purpose eighteen years before.‡ If this is the true principle to be applied to charitable giving, much more should it be applied to the raising of funds for our own public benefit. In its application to the latter purpose, it is a principle of ecclesiastical law; in its application to the cause of benevolence, it is a principle of duty and obligation, to be urged by the love of Christ, and enforced by the consideration that each will reap in proportion as he sows,§ after which it must be left to the individual conscience of every Christian.

This principle may be applied by assessing each member,

* Deut. xvi. 17. † 1 Cor. xvi. 2. ‡ Acts xi. 29. § 2 Cor. ix. 6.

either according to his income or according to the amount of property in his possession. Either of these methods will perhaps approximate as near to absolute justice as the imperfection of all human affairs will allow ; for it is not to be expected that any principle, however faultless in the abstract, can be perfectly exemplified in practice, or if it were, that its application would give satisfaction in all cases. But if any church member should refuse to pay his just proportion, it would be so manifest covetousness, as to demand his expulsion from the fellowship of saints.

But notwithstanding all the embarrassments which fall to the lot of Christian ministers, even in this happy land, they may well exclaim, on comparing their condition with that of their brethren in other lands, " Truly the lines are fallen to us in pleasant places ; we have a goodly heritage." In no other country on earth can the ministers of religion say, "*The government lets us alone.*" They can preach when they please, where they please, what they please, how they please, and to whom they please, if they can get hearers ; no man forbidding, so long as they infringe on no man's civil rights. They can do it without fear of inquisitions, dungeons, racks, or fines. No rude policeman or violent priest dares to break up their assemblies ; no ignorant, lawless mob will presume to pelt or hiss them ; no bigoted, pampered, national priesthood looks down upon them with scorn ; but they have as full access to every class of people as the imperfect state of human society will allow. In a word, theirs is *freedom*, compared with which the boasted privilege of the denizens of the "Eternal City" was but vassalage.

And what is more, they have not the stolid ignorance of the brutalized hordes of European tyranny to encounter, but each minister may address as numerous and as intelligent audiences as he is qualified to please and to instruct. Never was such a soul-inspiring field spread before the ministers of Christ ! If they do not labor with the alacrity of overflowing gratitude, such as in any other work would be counted enthusiasm, they must be blind to the glorious prospect before them ! Oh, what would Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and Paul, and John, and John Wickliffe, and William Tindal, and John Huss, and John Knox, and John Bunyan, and Roger Williams, and Oncken, and a host of apostles and missionary worthies in all ages, have given for this double honor, of holding an ambassador's credentials from heaven, recognized and protected on earth by a government of enlightened freemen ! How would their hearts have leaped to improve such perfect

liberty in so rich a field ! Let ministers and private Christians remember their exalted position. "Many prophets and kings have desired to see the things which ye see, and have not seen them." You ought to be model churches and ministers for the whole world.

ART. VI.—LORD CAMPBELL'S LIVES OF THE CHIEF JUSTICES.

The Lives of the Chief Justices of England, from the Norman Conquest till the death of Lord Mansfield. By JOHN, LORD CAMPBELL. In two volumes. Boston : Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1850.

IN this work, and in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, Lord Campbell has rendered valuable service. After an eminent career as a lawyer and a statesman, he found himself, some years since, without public employment, and, mindful of the debt which every man owes to his profession, resolved to become the biographer of the most eminent magistrates who have presided in Westminster Hall. His first work was received by the public with distinguished favor. The men who have held the Great Seal, have wielded a power so vast and important, that their lives, if written with any degree of fidelity and skill, must contribute materially to our knowledge of the political history of England; and they have been, for the most part, so eminent either for ability or rank, that the social and literary progress of the nation is, to no small extent, connected with their names. Not to mention others, Longchamp, à Becket, Wolsey, More, and Bacon have connected themselves so directly with whatever is worthy of attention in England, that their private history is part of the public renown. The work of Lord Campbell bears evident marks of haste; a frank and therefore not disagreeable egotism is apparent, sometimes in the text and often in the foot-notes; and there is a want of that philosophical spirit which the subject might well employ. But vigorous good sense and industrious research, combined with remarkable power of telling a story with dramatic effect, and a style always graphic and often eloquent, make the seven large volumes as entertaining as a romance, from the beginning to the end.

The description of the former work will apply to the pres-

ent, although from the nature of the subject this will be less interesting to the general reader, and perhaps more so to the legal profession. We propose, in a few brief notices of some of the marked men whose lives are narrated in these two volumes, to endeavor to interest our readers in the work itself. We shall use freely the materials furnished by the author, and whenever convenient his language, without any particular acknowledgment.

The Anglo-Saxons guarded against centralization in their institutions. They chose to keep their own consciences and manage their own affairs, rather than submit to the absolute guidance of priest or king. This is especially observable in their judicial system. Each subdivision of the territory had its court with civil and criminal jurisdiction. In each county was a tribunal of high dignity over which the Bishop and the Earl jointly presided, and important causes were heard by appeal before the Witenagemote, and decided by the voice of the majority. In Normandy different institutions prevailed, according to the theory of which all power emanated from a central head, and privilege was a gift bestowed upon the people by royal favor. Accordingly, after the Norman Conquest, a grand judicial tribunal was established in England, with jurisdiction over the whole realm. This was called the *Curia Regis*, and sometimes, from its place of meeting, the *Aula Regis*. The great officers of state were the judges, and over them presided the Chief Justiciar. This tribunal continued without material alteration for about two hundred years, when, under the forming hand of a wise Prince, the judicial institutions of England took substantially the shape which they have since retained.

The history of the men who, during these two hundred years, held the office of Chief Justiciar, is rather political and military than judicial. They were not much controlled by precedents, and their decisions upon points of law are not often quoted now. Among them were Robert De Brus, who early illustrated the fortunes of that race which afterwards won immortal honor upon the field of Bannockburn, and whose blood gives to the reigning Queen of England her hereditary title to the crown; Hubert De Burgh, a man of mark in the early history of England; De Glanville, a soldier, a scholar, and a statesman, whose legal writings are still quoted, and perhaps occasionally read; De Bracton, an eloquent writer and a great jurist, whose thorough knowledge and cordial admiration of the Roman jurisprudence might have been generally emulated by the English bar

with great advantage to the code of their native land. We have not space for a more ample notice of these remarkable men, but we must dwell for a moment upon the history of the first Chief Justiciar.

The tanner's daughter whose beauty captivated Robert of Normandy, after giving birth to the founder of the royal line of England, was married to a Norman Knight, and Odo, one of the children of this marriage, was a favorite of the young Duke William. Possessing bright parts and an athletic frame, he was bred to letters and to arms, and according to the custom of the times, early received ecclesiastical and military promotion. When William claimed the crown of England, Odo preached a crusade and levied troops for his aspiring brother. He early landed on the English coast, and on the morning of the Battle of Hastings, celebrated mass at daybreak with a coat of mail under his rochet, and during the day led the cavalry of the invading army. In consideration of his services on this memorable day he received large possessions in Kent, and was created Earl of that county and appointed Chief Justiciar of the realm. After holding this office for fifteen years, he quarrelled with the King, and guided, or pretending to be guided, by the prediction of an astrologer, set on foot an enterprise by which he was to reach the Papacy. William, finding no officer willing to touch the sacred person of his brother, arrested him with his own hand, and when Odo pleaded his exemption from temporal jurisdiction, exclaimed with Norman finesse: "God forbid that I should touch the Bishop of Bayeaux, but I make the Earl of Kent my prisoner;" and he kept him in prison for five years.

His ghostly advisers having suggested to William upon his death-bed, that if he would receive mercy from God he must show mercy to man, he issued an order for the liberation of Odo, remarking at the same time that he would be the ruin of both England and Normandy. The turbulent prelate did his best to fulfil the prediction. He left the unburied body of his brother to conspire against his successor, and having been banished from the kingdom by William, wandered over the Continent in quest of adventures, and finally died in great destitution at Palermo. Rather a stormy life for a Bishop and a Judge.

Since the principles of English jurisprudence were systematized by Edward I., and the jurisdiction of the several courts limited substantially as at present, the office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench has been of less relative importance, though of high dignity, and under changes of dynasty and of

law has been filled sometimes by men who have disgraced our nature, and sometimes by men who have honored the high station to which they have been called. We shall dwell mainly upon the latter class. Dull men and wicked men have evidently their place in the world, but we are not required to make either of them the principal subjects of our contemplation.

Passing by, therefore, some men of no note, and some who would deserve a passing notice, but that they must give place to better men; omitting Tressilian who was hung at Tyburn, and Belknappe who was convicted of high treason and transported to Ireland, then considered a penal colony; we come in the reign of Henry IV. to the justly illustrious Sir William Gascoigne. He was born about the middle of the reign of Edward III. His Norman ancestors had been distinguished for military prowess, but he was early stirred with the noble ambition of becoming a profound lawyer and a great judge. Two of the Inns of Court, the Middle Temple and Gray's Inn, contend for the honor of having had him as a member. He studied the common law with extraordinary zeal, and was early in good business, numbering among his clients "old John of Gaunt." When Henry of Bolingbroke was banished the kingdom, Gascoigne, at the suggestion of "time-honored Lancaster," was appointed his attorney; and it was upon receiving notice that Gascoigne's power of attorney had been revoked by the King, that Bolingbroke returned, under the pretense of claiming his rights as a subject, to win and wear the crown. One of his first acts was to appoint Gascoigne Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Of the manner in which he discharged the duties of this office, Lord Campbell thus speaks:—

Never was the seat of justice filled by a more upright and independent magistrate. He was likewise celebrated for the soundness of his decisions. The early abridgments swarm with them, but it is only to an antiquarian lawyer that they now possess any interest. Traits of disinterestedness, fortitude, and magnanimity, showing an enlightened sense of what is fit, and a determination, at every risk and every sacrifice, to do what duty requires, please and edify all future generations. Therefore, although the ashes of Sir William Gascoigne have reposed upwards of four centuries beneath the marble which protects them, and although since his time there has been a complete change of laws and manners, when we see him despise the frown of power our sympathies are as warmly excited as by the contemplation of a Holt or a Camden.

One or two instances of his bearing are so truly heroic, that they will live for ever in the memories of men. He attended the King to the North to assist in putting down an insurrection

planned by the Archbishop of York and Thomas Mowbray. The two rebels being made prisoners, the King insisted that the Chief Justice should sit in judgment upon them and sentence them to death. He refused, saying, "Much am I beholden to your Highness, and all your lawful commands I am bound by my allegiance to obey; but over the life of the prelate I have not, and your Highness cannot give me, any jurisdiction. For the other prisoner, he is a peer of the realm, and he has a right to be tried by his peers." And this was said by a judge whose tenure of office was during pleasure, to that able and arbitrary monarch, Henry IV.

Another act of the Chief Justice was the commitment of the Prince of Wales to the King's Bench prison. Lord Campbell is at considerable pains to show that the tradition of this act is authentic. We see no reason to doubt its genuineness, and it is very certain that the story would not have gained the celebrity it has, if it had not been in perfect keeping with Gascoigne's well-known character. Every one must feel the justice of the following remarks, and we think no one can read them without a quicker motion in the blood:—

There was here no official insolence or strain of jurisdiction for the sake of gaining popularity. Independently of the blow, which may be safely disbelieved as inconsistent with the generous feeling by which Henry was actuated in his wildest moments, he had insulted the first criminal judge sitting on his tribunal, and he had no privilege from arrest beyond that of a peer, which did not extend to such an enormity. But there had been no precedent in this, or any other European monarchy, of a temporal judge with delegated authority, for an insult offered to himself, sending to jail the son of his sovereign, who must himself mount the throne upon his father's death, to be detained there in a solitary cell, or to associate with common felons. We must remember that Gascoigne held his office during pleasure, and that while by this act there seemed a certainty of his being dismissed and made the object of royal vengeance on the demise of the crown, there was great danger of his incurring the displeasure of the reigning sovereign, who might suppose that the divinity which ought to hedge the blood royal had been profaned. Everything conspires to enhance the self-devotion and elevation of sentiment which dictated this illustrious act of an English judge, and the noble independence which has marked many of his successors may be, in no small degree, attributed to it.

It is much to the credit of the two Lancastrian princes that the resolute judge lost none of their favor by defying their power, and shows them to have been superior to the low spite which formed one of the many accomplishments of the Stuart race.

We sympathize with Lord Campbell in his reluctance to take leave of Sir William Gascoigne for others of much less celebrity and virtue. The ancient lineage of the house of Montagu might detain us for a short time, but the first Chief

Justice of that name is described as "a man who unfortunately had a conscience, and was unable to obey its dictates or to silence its reproaches," and is therefore quite too common a character to deserve much attention. Passing by Dyer, an eminent and worthy man for whom Lord Campbell has a liking which we do not share, we come to a most entertaining character in the Lord Chief Justice Popham. He was stolen in early life by a band of Gipseys, and got a sickly constitution very much strengthened by their wandering life. While a student at law, besides drinking and gaming, he occasionally indulged in highway robbery as an amusement. At the age of thirty, at the earnest solicitation of his wife, he reformed his habits, and becoming by severe application a consummate lawyer, was advanced by regular gradations to the office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench, managing to connect himself on the way with the murder of Mary, Queen of Scots, with the conviction of Sir Walter Raleigh, and with the punishment of the authors of the Gunpowder Plot. He died, leaving behind him the greatest estate which up to that time had been amassed by any lawyer in England; not all of it honestly come by, however. Sir Walter Scott has made us familiar with the legend of the origin of his title to the manor of Littlecote, and it was even said that he had laid up some of the money which in early life he "took upon the road."

We come now to Sir Edward Coke, who, born in the reign of Edward VI., lived to do harsh service as the Attorney General of Elizabeth, to resist the first development of Stuart folly under James, to thwart the madness of Charles I., and perhaps to consult with Hampden as to the best means of vindicating the laws of England. He was a man of harsh temper and narrow mind; his works are so dull and crabbed that it is a mark of indomitable perseverance in one of his own profession to have read them; and he utterly despised literature and philosophy. It will be worth while to see by what means such a man has acquired a name in the very first rank of Englishmen. At school and at the University he was distinguished for the industrious acquisition of knowledge, and his indifference as to the kind of knowledge he acquired, so it was dull and dry. As a student at law his labors were almost incredible, and nothing ever tempted him for one moment away from the harsh and technical science of his choice. By the law he had determined to acquire wealth and fame, and to the law he rendered undivided service. He was well repaid. No English lawyer, with the exception per-

haps of Erskine, ever had such brilliant success, and the discerning Elizabeth, passing by the claims of Bacon, made him her Attorney General. The period during which he held this office is the least honorable of his life. He behaved as only a man of brutal temper could at the trial of Essex, and his insulting demeanor during the progress of another celebrated trial will live through all time with the fame of Sir Walter Raleigh.

James I., when he had made up his mind to commence a deliberate attack upon the laws of England, with the peculiar tact of his family, selected the man in England who had the greatest power and the heartiest will to resist him, and made him a judge. Thenceforth, he tried by alternate coaxing and threatening to bend Sir Edward Coke to his will, and all that he could get from him was, "When the case arises I shall do what is fit for a judge to do." He baffled, one after another, the foolish schemes of James, and he met the perfidious Charles with the Petition of Right. His unrivalled knowledge of the law, and his settled determination that the law should be superior to the will of the sovereign, made him the evil genius of the house of Stuart, and won for him the veneration of the English people. From the time when he "planted himself directly in the face and right across the path of tyranny," his eye never quailed and his hand never missed its aim. It is for this, that wherever the English language is spoken his name will be had in everlasting remembrance. It may not be uninteresting to know that a man of so rough and forbidding a reputation, was handsome and scrupulously neat in his person, and it concerns us all to remember the religious temper of his mind. His love of his profession burned with undiminished ardor to the end of life, and occasionally, when, old and in prison, he was composing his great work, some of the "amiable and admirable secrets of the law" inspired his usually involved, immethodical and heavy style, with an almost rhythmic eloquence. An arrogant temper was his besetting sin; he wanted Bacon's flowing courtesy, and he had none of the meanness which the genius of Bacon makes us so unwilling to remember. When we hear that Coke never saw a play of Shakspeare, and that he treated the *Novum Organum* with scorn, we are tempted to despise his narrow mind; but when we see Bacon lending his fine genius to the schemes of arbitrary power, our hearts kindle with a glow of generous admiration for the "conceited pedant" who stood firm for freedom, and thus rendered himself not unworthy to be named with Hampden, with Somers, and with Chatham.

The Chief Justices of the Upper Bench during the Commonwealth were generally men of learning, ability, and integrity. Lawyers will take delight in the able, amiable, and learned Rolle, and all students of history are familiar with the "dark, ardent, and dangerous" character of Oliver St. John. But one of the Commonwealth judges, who also held office for a time under Charles II., perhaps as nearly filled up the ideal of a perfect magistrate as the nature of man will permit. He added to a mind of rare endowment and almost perfect balance, a depth of legal learning only equalled by that of Coke. In the midst of civil convulsions he preserved a calm and moderate temper, and the licentiousness of the Restoration left unsullied the perfect purity of his life. In his hands the law became an attractive and philosophical science, and the administration of justice assumed the venerable aspect of a religious service. We cannot forget that he shared in the superstition of the age, and suffered two innocent women to be convicted of witchcraft; and perhaps the unnecessary asceticism of his domestic life may have had an unhappy effect upon his children. These are traces of a frail and fallen nature, dark spots upon the otherwise spotless fame of Sir Matthew Hale. Lord Campbell tells a simple anecdote which is worth volumes of panegyric.

"The estate of Alderley," says Lord C., "is still in possession of a lineal descendant of Sir Matthew Hale. I remember that this gentleman held the office of High Sheriff of the county of Gloucester when I went the Oxford circuit, and that he was treated with peculiar respect by the Judges and by the bar, from our profound veneration for the memory of his illustrious ancestor."

It was impossible of course for Charles II. and his foolish brother to get along with men of integrity in high judicial station, and from the death of Sir Matthew Hale to the Revolution of 1688, the Chief Justices of the King's Bench were a set of men of whom nothing worse can, and nothing better ought to be said, than that they were fit representatives of the last two Stuart princes.

As if to complete the disgust of the people for the old dynasty, the first Chief Justice under the new was a bright example of every judicial virtue. The most loyal people on earth might well endure a break in the line of hereditary descent, in order to secure an administration of justice under Sir John Holt in the place of Scroggs and Jeffreys.

Recovering from some irregularities, for which he was unfortunately distinguished in early life, Holt became a profound

lawyer; and when, after the Revolution, it was resolved that every Privy Counsellor should bring in a list of the twelve persons whom he deemed the fittest to be the twelve Judges, however the lists of the different Privy Counsellors varied, they all agreed in presenting first the name of Sir John Holt; and when the appointment was announced by the *London Gazette*, it was hailed with joy by the whole nation. Lord Campbell thus describes his qualifications for his office:—

From the start, as a magistrate he exceeded the high expectations which had been formed of him, and during the long period of twenty-two years he constantly rose in the esteem and admiration of his countrymen. To unsullied integrity and lofty independence, he added a rare combination of deep professional knowledge with exquisite common sense. According to a homely but expressive phrase, "there was no rubbish in his mind." Familiar with the practice of the Court as any clerk,—acquainted with the rules of special pleading as if he had spent all his days and nights in drawing declarations and demurrers,—versed in the subtleties of the law of real property as if he had confined his attention to conveyancing,—and as a commercial lawyer much in advance of any of his contemporaries,—he ever reasoned logically, appearing at the same time instinctively acquainted with all the feelings of the human heart, and versed by experience in all the ways of mankind. He may be considered as having had a genius for magistracy as much as our Milton had for poetry, or our Wilkie for painting. Perhaps the excellence which he attained may be traced to the passion for justice by which he was constantly actuated.

He first announced from the bench the doctrine that no man could be a slave in England; he exploded witchcraft, by causing the prosecutors for that crime to be themselves tried and punished as impostors; and he gained the love of the people and won immortal honor by the calm and immovable independence with which he held in check alternately the House of Commons and the House of Lords. There is no man in English history whom as a judge the legal profession so much admire, and he had the love of the common people.

They had heard and they believed that he was the greatest judge that had appeared on earth since the time of Daniel, and they knew that he was condescending, kind-hearted, and charitable. We are told that as his body was lowered into the grave prepared in the chancel of the church at Redgrave, not a dry eye was to be seen, and the rustic lamentations there uttered eloquently spoke his praise.

It would perhaps not be quite fair in reviewing a work devoted to the lives of celebrated lawyers, not to take some notice of the only one among them whose greatest distinction was his modesty. When we read of a lawyer without ambition, who again and again refused the Great Seal from a genuine contempt of power and wealth as well as of title, and

an ardent love of leisure, repose, and obscurity, we are naturally curious to know more about him.

John Eardley Wilmot received his early education under the tuition of that Mr. Hunter who is known to history as having flogged seven boys who afterwards sat in the superior Courts at Westminster at the same time. Samuel Johnson and David Garrick were schoolmates of Wilmot, but he did not much cultivate their acquaintance in after life, being not only afraid of being distinguished himself, but desirous of avoiding all those who had gained distinction. He spent four years at the University of Cambridge as a recluse student, with the hope of obtaining a small living in the Church, and spending his days in a remote corner of the kingdom, conversing only with the peasants who might be under his pastoral care. In compliance with his father's wishes he abandoned his favorite plan, and commenced the study of the law, keeping his terms regularly at the Inner Temple, and by a three years' course of solitary study made himself a "consummate jurist." After coming to the bar he studiously concealed his acquirements, lest the attorneys should find him out and send him business. In this he was successful for several years, but he was obliged to take now and then a case from some friend or relative, and thus unwillingly betray the fact that he was a profound lawyer and a powerful advocate. Then came offers of legal promotion and a seat in Parliament; and for ever to avoid all such perils he abandoned Westminster Hall and settled as a provincial counsel in his native county of Derby. In this retreat he remained undisturbed for about a year, when he received official information that his Majesty had been pleased to appoint him one of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench. He refused at first, but finally, under the idea that it was his duty to submit himself to the King's pleasure, consented to allow the honor to be thrust upon him. In the seat of justice, as unostentatious as ever, he still strove to shrink from observation, but in spite of himself delivered pithy and luminous judgments, and often guided his brother judges by a hint, a whisper, or a look; and thus came to be compared to the helm which, itself unseen, silently keeps the vessel in the right course. He had just become partially reconciled to this position, when a remarkable judicial crisis arrived in England. Lord Chief Justice Ryder died while a patent was passing for ennobling him, and William Murray claimed the vacant office, but the Duke of Newcastle was unwilling to lose his ablest supporter in the House of Commons. To Wilmot's great relief Murray prevailed, and a man who had

already given adequate proofs of his fitness for the place was saved from the imminent risk of being called upon to fill the highest judicial office in the world. But he had soon to encounter a new peril. Lord Hardwicke resigned the Great Seal, and Wilmot was rendered extremely unhappy with the dread of being compelled to become Lord Chancellor of England. But he found no great difficulty in declining that honor, the Great Seal carrying with it such vast political power that there is never any lack of patriots willing to embrace so splendid an opportunity of serving the State. Soon after this, very reluctantly yielding to the earnest solicitations of his friends, he accepted the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He held this office a few years, when being again importuned to accept the Great Seal, he resolved to avoid all further solicitations and resigned his office, making infirm health the ground of his retirement. He survived about twenty years, and died in his eighty-second year.

"We must," says Lord Campbell, "place him far above those who have been tempted by inordinate ambition to mean and wicked actions; yet we cannot consider his public character as approaching perfection, for he was much more solicitous for his own ease than for the public good." Perhaps so. Indolence is not desirable in itself, and yet if some of our public men, who are so much more solicitous for the public good than for their own ease, should by any chance fall into the evil habit which is censured in Chief Justice Wilmot, we think they may look for some degree of indulgence from a charitable community; especially if they should become like him in other respects, and add to his learning and integrity, his urbanity and refined sentiments as a gentleman, and his piety and humility as a Christian.

We come now to consider a man of widely different temper, and one who, take him all in all, is the most attractive character in the long line from Odo to Lord Campbell himself, who now holds the office of Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. The biography of Mansfield is the one upon which the author has bestowed the most pains and with the most perfect success. It is a panorama of the times, from the days of Addison, Bolingbroke, and Pope, to the era when Burke and Fox and Pitt were encircling the reign of George III. with a splendor of eloquence and statesmanship unknown in any age or nation at least in modern times.

William Murray when a student at law received instructions in oratory from Pope, and by the solidity of his attainments and the fascination of his manner, and the silver-toned

eloquence of his conversation, made himself an agreeable companion in the most intellectual circles in London in the Augustan age of English literature; in his maturer years he disputed the palm of eloquence successively in either House of Parliament with confessedly the greatest of English orators; and as Lord Mansfield and Chief Justice of the King's Bench he won the reputation of a most accomplished judge, and founded the Commercial Code of his country. The career of such a man may well repay careful study.

His early discipline was at once generous and severe. He was a diligent and thorough student of history and of the ethical and philosophical writings of antiquity; and he was a patient and laborious classical student, especially of the works of Cicero, all of whose orations he translated into English and retranslated into Latin.

Upon this subject we may be permitted a single word. It is said, and with a good deal of truth, that with all the attention given in our colleges to instruction in the Greek and Latin languages, we have few good classical scholars; and it is equally true, that with all the apparatus of education, popular, practical, and scientific, with which the country is covered, there are few people who know anything well; and it would be just as fair to base an argument against teaching English upon the want of syntax and sense in common conversation, as to reason from the inability of graduates to read their diplomas, to the uselessness of a knowledge of Latin and Greek. The truth upon this subject seems to be, that the study of the Latin and Greek languages has been found a most admirable means of disciplining the intellect and cultivating the taste. This is the concurring judgment of those best qualified to judge for several hundred years. It is possible to conceive, indeed, of an excessive devotion to this pursuit, but under existing circumstances this does not seem to be an urgent topic of debate. The opposition to the study of the classics comes, so far as we have observed, from professional philanthropists and self-appointed practical men; two extremely useful classes we readily admit, and yet extremely apt to exaggerate the importance of those objects which are within their immediate range of vision. The idea of keeping our boys away from Homer lest haply he should cherish within them a warlike temper is simply ridiculous, and the habit of looking at intellectual pursuits mainly with reference to their immediate and practical effect upon what is called success in life, is something worse than ridiculous.

Lord Mansfield's legal education was directed by himself,

and it must be conceded, with eminent success. We can only express the hope that those young men who may see fit to follow his example and select their own course of studies, without submitting to any discipline or listening to any advice, may emulate his industry. If all those who emancipate themselves from the control of others would retain the control of themselves, there would not be so much danger as there now is in individual freedom.

We cannot afford space for a narrative of the long, distinguished, and useful life of Lord Mansfield. Any abstract of Lord Campbell's delightful sketch would give but an imperfect idea of what he was: indeed whoever would fully appreciate his character must study with care almost a century of English history. The result will amply repay the toil. He acted a most distinguished part in a most eventful period of human affairs, and rendered important service to mankind. His great defect was a want of moral courage. He was himself aware of this, and almost uniformly kept within that sphere of action for which he was fitted by nature, by education, and by early and deliberate choice. He never could have summoned the English people from the depths of lethargy and despair, and led them on in a career of victory and glory. That required the indomitable will and glowing heart of Chatham. He foresaw, but never could have arrested the tendency of the nation to run wild after the insane theories of liberty to which the French Revolution had given birth. That required profound philosophy and gorgeous eloquence, a combination of faculties rare in any age, and found in that age in Edmund Burke, and in him alone. We would much sooner have trusted the Petition of Right with Coke than with Mansfield. The independence of the judiciary would have been much safer in the hands of Holt.

We are not all equal to everything. Lord Mansfield was an able and highly cultivated man. He found the commercial code of England crude and indigested, and he left it a clear and beautiful science. During a long life at the bar, in the Senate, and upon the bench, he sustained the cause of order and freedom, by an eloquence which arose from high powers, trained by assiduous culture, enriched by vast stores of learning, and set off to the greatest advantage by a manner graceful and self-possessed, and by a voice of unequalled sweetness. There is, we are well aware, a higher order of eloquence than this. It is the inspiration of genius, and springs 'from the man, the subject, and the occasion.' Demosthenes had it, and Chatham and Patrick Henry, and though

it was never displayed by him in any public assembly, it was possessed in an eminent degree by Robert Burns. This kind of eloquence study cannot give, and it may be doubted whether any degree of culture can much improve. It acts with spontaneous energy and volcanic force. A man might as well attempt to prepare himself in the schools to write the tragedy of Hamlet, or to fight the battle of Austerlitz, as to utter one of those splendid and terrible passages which have been the wonder and admiration of mankind. From this fact has arisen the impression that eloquence comes by chance, and this impression has done, and is doing, a good deal of mischief. The meetings of our various philanthropic societies, the weekly services of our pulpits, our State and National Legislatures, the caucuses and conventions of our political parties, afford ample evidence that our countrymen have been very generally endowed with the capacity of speaking well, and that they are responsible for a very general neglect of the talent with which they have been thus intrusted. They do not want compass and melody of voice, but they need instruction and practice in the elementary principles of elocution. They have plenty of what, in phrenological jargon, is called the bump of language, but they would profit by a more thorough acquaintance with the meaning of words and the structure of sentences. They have in abundance what goes by the name of spontaneity, but they have not the force and steadiness which come from careful observation, patient reflection, and the study of good books. It is in these respects that we think our professional men might derive improvement from a careful study of the means by which Lord Mansfield secured his ascendancy as a public speaker.

The same remark will apply with perhaps equal force to his other eminent qualities,—to his wise moderation—his willing allegiance to the law of “not too much”—the general repose and dignity of his character. In this country the tendency in all classes is to early development and crude performance. It is seen in the rapid growth and frequent failure of business men; in the noisy and rapid discussions of the press and the public assembly; in the wonderful discoveries in morals, politics, religion, education, and social improvement, which appear and disappear with the rapidity of the seasons, but unhappily without their beautiful order and beneficent results. These things may be incident to our condition as a young and rapidly growing people, and they may, or they may not, work their own cure. We do not now propose to enter upon that discussion. All will admit that they are not in themselves desirable, and it can certainly do

no harm to those who may aspire to distinction and usefulness in public or professional life, to ponder the career of a man who lingered awhile by the fountains of ancient wisdom before he attempted to enlighten the world with his own,—who studied Demosthenes and Cicero, before attempting to emulate their immortal works,—who understood the propriety of governing himself before attempting to reform the State,—who served his day and generation and made his name historical, without so far as we know having proposed or defended any new theory of society; in one word, of a man who became what he was by the slow, quiet, and beautiful process of growth, and not by the startling exhibitions of the circus. If such an example were generally followed, the comfort, quiet, and improvement of the community would be greatly promoted. Much of the evil so rife in these times has its origin in a want of thorough culture in what are commonly called educated men. Ultraism, in whatever form, whether radical or conservative,—and it is about equally common and equally pernicious in each of these forms,—is commonly the indication of a poorly-furnished head and an ill-disciplined character.

We cannot close these hasty remarks without again calling the attention of the legal profession, and of all those who take an interest (as who does not?) in the wise and pure administration of justice, to a work, which, besides containing a fund of anecdote and much valuable historical information, will, if carefully studied, throw important light upon many questions which now interest, and are yet to interest still more, the people of this country. The attention of the country has recently been called to the tenure of the judicial office, and by the action of some of the States it has been rendered entirely dependent upon the popular will. Without entering upon any of the vexed questions suggested by this subject, we may safely say that by whatever tenure the judiciary hold office, no department of the government is of greater importance; and whoever may appoint or dismiss judges, that community will suffer where the legal profession is destitute of materials out of which good judges can be made. There are certain causes operating against a high standard of attainment and character at the bar of this country. Let them see to it that these causes are successfully resisted, and that they have ever in their ranks men who may be fitly called upon by the appointing power, whether that power be the people or the legislature, to fill the places which have been occupied in England by Hale, by Holt, and by Mansfield, and in this country, by Marshall, by Kent, and by Story.

ART. VII.—PRESIDENT WAYLAND'S REPORT.

Report to the Corporation of Brown University on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education. Read March 28th, 1850. George H. Whitney. Pp. 76.

WE have read this Report with no ordinary pleasure, and have studied its principles with a constantly increasing interest. Whoever proposes essential changes in our present plan of collegiate education, should be familiarly acquainted with the subject. For education in the broad and generous meaning of the term has already grown into a dignified science, having elementary principles and general laws of its own, which must pervade and regulate every wisely organized institution, whether intended for popular or collegiate instruction or professional learning. A thorough knowledge of these principles, and of their application in training the student aright, does not come into the minds of men without patient study and experience, any more than a knowledge of the general laws of the other sciences and of their applications will come unsought.

We are aware that this is not the popular view. On certain great subjects, such as Civil Government, Education, and Religion, almost every one fancies he has quite correct notions, although he may never have spent as much time in studying either of them as he did in learning the multiplication table. Indeed it is not an uncommon spectacle to witness men discussing these vast themes, which they have never really studied at all, with manifest confidence in their opinions, when these same men will express, with very modest caution, their opinions of the nature or of the application of almost any law in Natural Philosophy or Chemistry, which they once studied carefully and saw illustrated by experiment.

Impressed with this view of the public sentiment in regard to education, we presume that some who read this Report will condemn certain features of it without an examination, simply because they are new, that is, unlike "the constitution and course of things" in the college at which they were

educated, or with which they happen to be most acquainted ; while others will run into the opposite extreme, and commend whatever is new simply because it is new, and be ready to join a crusade against all the colleges which do not see the importance of making essential changes in their present systems of instruction.

Between these two parties, the ultra-conservative on the one hand and the ultra-progressive on the other, there is a large class of sensible, thinking men, who will give this proposed scheme of collegiate education an unbiased examination ; and if their understandings become convinced that the changes proposed are desirable and practicable, they will be eager to see them carried into effect, and if it is their duty to aid in doing this, they will be ready to lend such assistance as the case may demand. We shall be much disappointed if a very favorable impression is not made on this class of minds by the Report ; for it is marked by strong, practical common sense, brought to bear upon long experience and a thorough acquaintance with the subject. As early as 1842, President Wayland wrote a small volume entitled “ Thoughts on the present Collegiate System in the United States,” and the Report evinces that his subsequent reading and reflections on the subject have matured his views, which are here presented under the following heads :—

The System of University Education in Great Britain.

The progress and present state of University Education in this country.

The present condition of this University.

The measures which the Committee recommend for the purpose of enlarging the usefulness of the Institution.

The subject of Collegiate Degrees.

We propose to make *copious extracts* from the Report, in order to present the general outline of its argument and the whole of the proposed plan for the re-organization of the University, in the author's own language, reserving to ourselves the humble office of commenting on such passages and principles as seem to deserve a passing notice.

In connection with the first topic, a graphic sketch is given of the original design and general character of the English Universities, which must be interesting to most of our readers :—

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were, as it is well known, established mainly, if not exclusively, for the benefit of the clergy. They were ecclesiastical and monastic institutions. The course of study which

they prescribed, was designed for the education of priests, who formed, in fact, the only educated class in the middle ages ; and who probably intended, by means of an exclusive education, to render perpetual the influence over the masses which they had so successfully usurped.

Such being the nature of an English university, it may well be supposed that its organization is adapted to answer its end. As at present constituted, however, Oxford and Cambridge are not universities, in the sense in which this word is used on the continent of Europe. They are a collection of colleges, all teaching the same branches of study, while the University, as it formerly existed, teaches nothing, or until lately, nothing that was required of the candidate for a degree.

Our ancestors, of course, would never have thought of establishing, in the infancy of our country, a congeries of colleges such as form the University of Oxford or Cambridge. They took a single college for their model. Let us then briefly consider the nature of a single college in one of these splendid establishments.

Each college forms a distinct society, of which one object, at least, was the education of youth, over whom it exercised a vigilant and universal superintendence. Hence all the arrangements of the college were made to conform to this idea. The whole society was intended to form but one family ; master, fellows, tutors, and students, all sitting at the same table. A college building is always a quadrangle, open in the centre and admitting of but one entrance. The gate is closed at a certain hour, after which no one can either enter or go out. Within this quadrangle every officer and student resides ; and, of course, the intercourse between them must be frequent, and the means of supervision as perfect as the nature of the case could require. If a system of this kind were to be adopted, we do not perceive in what manner the present organization of a college in an English University could be improved.

Such is the model from which all our colleges in this country are copied. We adopted the unchangeable period of four years, and confined the course of education almost exclusively to Greek, Latin, and Mathematics ; adding, perhaps, a little more theology and natural philosophy.

In tracing the progress of collegiate education in the United States, the Report presents the following course of studies in the Colonial colleges, which continued without essential modifications until the Revolution, and in fact till the beginning of the present century :—

The time allotted to a collegiate course was as in England fixed to four years. The studies pursued were Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Locke on the Understanding, while some attention was generally given to theology and the Hebrew language. These latter studies were the more important, inasmuch as a large portion of the students were designed for the ministry, and theological schools had not yet been established. The number of studies was limited, and the same time was allowed to the pursuit of them as in the English Universities.

Dr. Wayland speaks in terms of high praise of the character of the education given in these early colleges :—

At these colleges were educated some of the profoundest theologians that any age has produced. They nurtured the men who, as jurists and states

men and diplomatists, in the intellectual struggle that preceded the Revolution, shrunk not from doing battle with the ablest men of the mother country, and won for themselves, in the contest, the splendid eulogy of Lord Chatham, the noblest of them all; the same men who, when the Revolution was accomplished, framed for us, their successors, the Constitution of the United States, perhaps the most important document that the eighteenth century produced. We certainly have then no reason to be ashamed of the colleges founded in our early history.

Is it not more than probable that these men gained much of that intellectual training which lent such an elastic energy to their minds, by pursuing a very few studies at a time with great care? "The chief art of learning," says Locke, "is to attempt but little at a time." We have long been impressed with the importance to the student of attempting no more studies than he has ample time to understand thoroughly,—not to commit to memory the general arguments and trains of thought, so as to recite fluently, but to discover the more important principles which underlie each science or branch of learning, and then to trace out their relations to the material world, or the affairs of men, reflecting upon them, converging the rays of collateral reading upon them, crowding back on all sides the dusky veil of the unknown, till the whole subject rises up before his mind radiant with the light of real knowledge. In studying a single branch of learning in this manner, the student may not only get a full idea of the subject matter of that branch, but a general idea of perfectness—of the manner in which all subjects should be studied—an ideal which shall become the type of all his notions of completeness and excellence, and thus in all after-life lend to his intellect a steadier and more vigorous aim, sharpen its sagacity and enlarge its comprehension. But we must dismiss this topic for the present, as we shall have occasion to refer to it again in the sequel.

But, with the present century, a new era dawned upon the world. A host of new sciences arose, all holding important relations to the progress of civilization. Here was a whole people in an entirely novel position. Almost the whole nation was able to read. Mind had been quickened to intense energy by the events of the Revolution. The spirit of self-reliance had gained strength by the result of that contest. A country rich in every form of capability, had just come into their possession. Its wealth was inexhaustible, and its adaptation to the production of most of the great staples of commerce unsurpassed. All that was needed, in order to develop its resources, was well-directed labor. But labor can only be skilfully directed by science; and the sciences now coming into notice were precisely those which the condition of such a country rendered indispensable to success.

This was an important crisis in the history of collegiate education in this country. To remain in its present condition was impossible. Every one

conceded that a knowledge of those sciences on which success depends in the various departments of active life, must be communicated to students in our higher seminaries of learning. Here two courses presented themselves to the directors of these institutions. In the first place, they might have said: The studies which we now teach occupy the whole time allotted to a collegiate education. It is barely sufficient to accomplish the work now actually before us. We will introduce as many other departments of learning as the public may demand, and we will teach them well, but this work cannot be done in four years. You must therefore either extend the time of an education, or you must leave each student to select those studies which he shall choose, our own responsibility being to teach well whatever we teach at all. Or, on the other hand, they might have said: The time of education is fixed at four years. This is the period allotted to a preparation for the learned professions. Some degree of knowledge of these sciences is required of every liberally educated man. We will, from time to time, introduce every new branch of science into this period of study, by curtailing every other that may have been previously taught, thus increasing the number, and teaching every one less perfectly.

The latter was the course adopted to a greater or less extent by all the colleges in this country. It seems to have been taken for granted, that our colleges were designed exclusively for professional men; that they must teach all that professional men might wish to know; and that all this must be taught in four years; and in accordance with this idea, the former system was modified. The time of study was not extended, but science after science was added to the course, as fast as the pressure from without seemed to require it. The extent to which this system has been carried among us, may be seen by observing the annual catalogue of any of our colleges. In the oldest and most celebrated college of New-England, the course of study pursued by the undergraduate embraces the following branches of learning, to wit: Latin, Greek, Mathematics, comprehending Geometry and Algebra, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, and Analytical Geometry, Ancient and Modern History, Natural History, Chemistry, Rhetoric, French, Psychology, Ethics, Physics, Logic, Botany, Political Economy, the Evidences of Religion, Constitution of the United States, Mineralogy, Geology, and German or Spanish or an equivalent, together with essays to be written in several of these departments, and instruction in Elocution.

Nor, in this case, were either the community or the colleges justly liable to censure. The fact is, the community, from imperfect knowledge of the subject, required an impossibility. The colleges, feeling their dependence on the public for support, undertook to perform the impossibility. Besides, these changes were not made all at once. But the movement once commenced, it could not be arrested until it had arrived at its present result.

We have aimed to make such extracts as will present to the reader what Dr. Wayland considers the two great defects in the American system of Collegiate Education. These are, that "science after science" has been added to the course of instruction, and that the time allowed the student for acquiring a knowledge of this continually lengthening course of studies has remained "fixed at four years."

Dr. Wayland has, we think, made out a very strong case, showing that, in this respect, our colleges have not been wisely managed. For the last twenty years or more, students have been required to attempt more intellectual labor, in

a given time, than the human mind in a partially disciplined state can accomplish in such a manner as to invigorate its faculties, sharpen the perceptive powers, and cultivate those scholastic tastes which awaken, refine, and elevate the feelings of the heart, and kindle the nobler aspirations of the soul. To study for these objects under the present "high-pressure" system is extremely difficult. While the many are occupied all the time in merely surveying the fields of learning over which they pass, only a few of the more gifted minds have leisure, after the survey has been completed, to gather the richer fruits and flowers and enjoy their flavor and perfume.

The Report closes the discussion of this branch of the subject with the following graphic picture of a student over-tasked with lessons :—

In such a case, if he study thoroughly, he will be able to advance in no one science beyond the merest rudiments; or else, if he desire to go over the whole science, he cannot possibly acquire anything more than the most general and abstract principles learned as a matter of rote, mere barren and isolated formulæ, of which he cannot see the relations, and which are never associated with any actual result. The student, never carrying forward his knowledge to its results, but being ever fagging at elements, loses all enthusiasm in the pursuit of science. He works wearily. He studies not from the love of study, but to accomplish a task. He can read nothing but his text-books, and he turns mechanically from one to the other. His own powers, except those of acquisition, can have no play. He learns to cram for a recitation or for an examination; and when this last is over, his work is done, and he is willing to forget all that he has studied. It gave him no pleasure, it has yielded him no fruit, and he gladly dismisses it all from his thoughts for ever. We fear that there is a large portion of the graduates of all our colleges, to whom these remarks may with truth be applied. If it be not so, they do great injustice to themselves in all their conversations on the subject.

It depends much upon the manner in which his recitations are conducted whether the mind of the student becomes thus wearied and jaded. To require him, while pursuing three or four studies at the same time, to retain in his memory for months the particular order in which the various and often unconnected topics of the text-books may happen to be arranged, evidently tends to produce this unfortunate result. The same weariness may arise from the student's attempting so many studies at once that he has not time to gain clear ideas of any, and consequently he is all the while floating on the surface in confusion, without ever dwelling on any one subject long enough to gravitate towards its centre.

But we cannot persuade ourselves that many students go through our colleges without deriving much greater benefits than President Wayland's sketch implies. The great major-

ity of them receive substantial advantages from the present course of instruction, defective as it may be. A certain atmosphere around a venerable seat of learning—its associations and influences, all acting through undefinable agencies—create in the student's mind new impressions, cultivate purer tastes, and awaken his manlier impulses to guide him aright in the duties and pleasures of life. Often in after years he will delight to trace upon the map of memory the days which he spent

——inter sylvas Academi quærere verum,

which have become their own painters, and have left behind them memorials that time cannot efface. Even upon the merest wreck of a liberally educated man, whose vicious indulgences have sunk him into the lowest degradation, there will remain traces of the impressions of his classic studies.

Quo semel imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu.

The Report now presents the subject from another point of observation. It states that in the early history of the country the colleges "supported themselves," but soon their incomes were not sufficient to enable them to pay the salaries of their Professors, and many of the colleges "were running in debt." This unfortunate state of things is attributed to several causes, but chiefly to the following:—

A more important reason, however, is found in the relative changes in the masses of society, which, within this period, have been rapidly going forward. It is manifest to the most casual observer, that the movement of civilization is precisely in the line of the useful arts. Steam, machinery, and commerce, have built up a class of society which formerly was only of secondary importance. The inducements to enter the learned professions have become far less, and those to enter upon the active professions vastly greater. The most coveted positions in society, seats in our highest legislative chambers, and even foreign embassies, await the successful merchant or manufacturer, no less than him who has devoted his life to what is called a learned profession.

From these, or some other causes, it is the fact that, within the last thirty years or more, it has been found that the colleges of New-England could not support themselves. The fact is, they were originally schools for merely the learned professions, and the proportion of those who desired a professional education was growing less. It is true the sciences which relate to practical life were taught in them, but they were taught only in reference to the professions. The portion of time allotted to them was merely sufficient to communicate that knowledge which was considered needful for a lawyer, or a clergyman; the physician pursued these studies in the regular course of his profession. The demand for the article produced in the colleges was falling off, not from the want of wealth, or intelligence, or enterprise in the

community; but really because a smaller number of the community desired it.

In this dilemma, two courses were again open before the colleges. The first was to adapt the article produced to the wants of the community. Inasmuch as a less number desired to enter the learned professions, and those who were entering them did not, in many cases, prefer this mode of preparation, the sources from which students were supplied to the colleges seemed to be drying up. But here were large and intelligent classes of citizens who needed education, though not such education as the colleges afforded. These institutions might then have been at once modified, and their advantages extended, not to *one class* merely, but to *every class* which needed a scientific and liberal education. In this manner they might probably have been enabled still to support themselves. The other course was to appeal to the charity of the public, and thus provide funds by which the present system might be sustained. The second course was adopted. Funds were contributed in behalf of most of the New-England colleges, to a very large amount. These were at first, if we do not mistake, for the purpose of reducing the fees of tuition. When this was done for one college, it must soon be done for all, for students tend to the cheapest college, as certainly as purchasers repair to him who sells at the lowest price. But this was not found sufficient. Soon funds began to be provided, in addition to those granted by Education Societies, by which a large number of students might obtain *gratuitous* tuition. In some cases a portion of these beneficiaries also received room-rent and furniture free. Such is now the course to which nearly all the colleges in New-England, to a greater or less degree, are tending. They determined to restrict a collegiate education to the instruction required in a preparation for the professions. The demand for this kind of education decreased. It could not be disposed of at cost. The first effort made was to provide the means for furnishing it below cost. When it could not be sustained at this reduction, the next effort made was to furnish a large part of it gratuitously. Hence, if it be desired to render a college prosperous, we do not so much ask, In what way can we afford the best education, or confer the greatest benefit on the community, but how can we raise funds, by which our tuition may be most effectually either reduced in price, or given away altogether?

We trust we shall not be considered captious if we object to the application of the dialect of Political Economy to the graduates of our colleges, reminding them even in this incidental manner that they are not "the articles wanted by the community." Many of us who have for years been striving for professional rank, or posts of honor, have had this *same idea suggested* to us in more explicit ways.

This use of the terms of the science of trade may have betrayed Dr. Wayland into a misapplication of one of its leading principles. We understand the Report to teach the general doctrine that if our colleges had uniformly "adapted the article produced to the wants of the community," they might have "disposed of it at cost," and thus "they might have been enabled to support themselves." This principle, which is generally acknowledged to be correct in its application to commercial, manufacturing and agricultural pursuits, admits of no such wide generalization as to include the

various forms of human culture. It is true only when applied to the acquisition of that sort of knowledge which constitutes what may be termed an education for specific uses, such, for example, as learning civil engineering for the purpose of getting a large salary in superintending the construction of a railroad,—learning some particular principles of physical science—of chemistry, for instance, which a man must thoroughly understand in order to manufacture successfully certain articles of commerce, acquiring medical or legal learning in order to gain a livelihood and perhaps fame by professional practice. But when applied to education in general, preparatory to an education for specific uses, and especially to the higher forms of intellectual and spiritual culture, the principle signally fails, and ever must fail, till men become as greedy for learning as they now are for lucre.

Without aiming at any very nice distinction, we may assert that all human enterprises may be divided into two classes. The one is pushed by the cupidity of man with the avowed object of gain, and every expenditure is made in the belief that the dollars, like the seeds of the husbandman, will yield a harvest of their kind, some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold. The other is sustained by the benevolence of man, and all expenditures in its behalf are made, not with any hope of a remunerating return in kind, but in a confiding trust that God in his providence will make them yield to society at large a richer than a golden harvest—a thousand kindly influences which humanize the nature and increase the happiness of our race. The former includes all the business schemes and pursuits among men, and if carried on in a right temper of mind which never violates the principles of justice, of mercantile honor, nor ventures within the all-absorbing eddies of the maelstrom of avarice, it is not only one of the most honorable callings, but one which enlarges and liberalizes the mind and ennobles the character, while it accumulates the wealth which ever cheerfully aids in the diffusion of learning, art, and religion. The latter embraces all man's endeavors to prepare himself for his duties, enjoyments and destinies, and in the liberal sense of the term, is *education*. True education aims at training the intellectual powers to perform successfully the processes of consecutive and logical thinking—cultivating the sensibility for whatever is beautiful or sublime in nature, art and literature—disciplining the wayward impulses for all the humane charities of life, and above all, imbuing the heart with that Christian

spirit which gives the soul hopes and foretastes of the bliss of heaven.

To the immense variety of business pursuits, the laws of demand and supply may be with safety applied; but never to our literary institutions established for imparting this generous culture to young men. Our colleges, we fear, can never be organized on any plan which will enable them to support themselves. Dr. Wayland's scheme will doubtless come much nearer the accomplishment of this object than any other yet devised. But even this needs the assistance of ample funds, and we are happy to learn that the friends of Brown University have already manifested an extraordinary degree of liberality in contributing to the proposed fund of \$125,000 named at the close of the Report.

President Wayland thinks that the funds which have been raised to support colleges on the common plan have afforded them only a temporary relief from their embarrassments, and have failed to accomplish the objects for which they were contributed.

The objects designed to be accomplished by endowments for the reduction of tuition and for furnishing it gratuitously in our colleges, have been, we suppose, the following:—

First, to increase the number of educated men in the whole community.

Second, to raise the standard of professional learning, and thus increase its intellectual power.

Third, to increase the number of the ministers of the gospel.

It will be granted that, in just so far as the present system has accomplished these objects, it has succeeded; and just in so far as it has not accomplished them, it has failed.

Having shown that no one of these objects has been accomplished, the Report closes the discussion of this branch of the subject in the following language:—

It would seem then, from such facts as these, that our present system of collegiate education is not accomplishing the purposes intended. The difficulty does not seem to arise from its expensiveness. Were this the case, a larger number of the wealthy would avail themselves of its advantages, and just in proportion as the cause was removed, the effect would cease. The benefactions *on the whole*, would increase the number of students *on the whole*. The reverse, however, is the fact, for as the benefactions increase, the aggregate number diminishes. We are, therefore, forced to adopt the other supposition, that our colleges are not filled because we do not furnish the education desired by the people. We have constructed them upon the idea, that they are to be schools of preparation *for the professions*. Our customers, therefore, come from the smallest class of society; and the importance of the education which we furnish is not so universally acknowledged as formerly, even by this class. We have produced an article for which the demand is diminishing. We sell it at less than cost, and the deficiency is

made up by charity. We give it away, and still the demand diminishes. Is it not time to inquire whether we cannot furnish an article for which the demand will be, at least, somewhat more remunerative?

The Report now enters upon the consideration of the third topic,—the present condition of Brown University. In the first place, a brief history of the institution is given, in order to show how its current expenses have been necessarily increased, while its income has remained without essential change.

From the year 1827 to 1835-6 the number of the students steadily increased. The income of the institution was not only sufficient to pay all its expenses, but also to relieve it of a considerable debt which it had incurred in previous years. The demand for an enlargement of the studies of the collegiate course, which was made upon other institutions, pressed with equal weight upon us. The demand seemed reasonable. Most of the New-England colleges were already far in advance of us in this respect. Unless we had followed their example, the college could not have been sustained. Our means allowed of the appointment of additional professors. Other professorships were therefore established. The library fund had come into use, and the appointment of a librarian became indispensable. In this manner the expenses of the institution became much increased.

In the year 1827, the property of Brown University consisted of the college premises; two college buildings, used as lecture rooms, and dormitories for students; and funds to the amount of \$34,300.

This fund remains the same at the present day. The college has not for more than forty years received a dollar, either from public or private benevolence, which could be appropriated to the support of the officers of instruction, or, with the exception of the temporary subscription mentioned above, a dollar which could be applied to the purpose of reducing the price of tuition. A considerable portion of the income from this fund is, by necessity, consumed in the payment of annual repairs and other incidental expenses of the institution. The residue, with the receipts for tuition, constitutes all the means in the hands of the Corporation for the support of the President and Professors.

It was stated above, that in the year 1827 the officers consisted of a President, three Professors, and two Tutors. The salary of the President was \$1,500, that of the Professors \$1,000, and that of the tutors \$400 per annum. It has been found necessary to add two to the number of Professors, and appoint a librarian, and frequently a sub-librarian. These are to be sustained by the income of the institution. The instruction in French is paid for by fees from the students.

The salaries which were paid twenty-two years since are now rendered totally inadequate by the increased expensiveness of living. For a considerable period the officers of instruction have been obliged to support themselves in part from their own funds. The Corporation have long felt that the Professors were laboring at wholly insufficient compensation, but they were unwilling, by the increase of salaries, to burden the institution with debt. At the last annual meeting however the case became so urgent that the Committee of Advice was directed to increase the salaries of all the Professors. The salaries were therefore raised \$200 each. With this addition, the amount to be paid during the current year to the officers of the institution is \$8,250. The whole receipts of the institution for the last year, deducting contingent expenses, was \$7,300. That is, if the number of

students were the same for the present as for the last year, the income would fall short of the expenditure \$950. If the additional officers, which the discipline of the institution requires, be appointed, this deficit will be increased to the sum of \$1,800 per annum.

Since 1827 several additions have been made to the property of the University. Manning Hall and Rhode Island Hall—the one for the Library and Chapel, and the other for the Philosophical and Chemical Lecture Rooms and Museum—and a new house for the President, have been erected by the liberality of the late Hon. Nicholas Brown and other friends of the College. From the same sources a permanent fund of \$25,000 has been raised, the income of which is to be expended to increase the library and philosophical apparatus. The library now contains nearly twenty-four thousand volumes, carefully selected, and rich in the treasures of the most important departments of science and literature. Competent judges have declared it to be, as a working library, second to none in New-England. The means have also been provided for enabling it to keep pace with the progress of science, and thus open within the institution a perennial fountain of knowledge.

While these additions have increased the facilities and elevated the standard of instruction in the University, nothing has been done to make its income equal to its expenses.

The Report now comes to consider the question, What shall be done for the future?

It will be readily supposed that Dr. Wayland proposes no palliatives, no temporary expedients, no patching up of a system which, even when complete, has proved itself inadequate to its purposes, and incapable of expansion to meet the advancing demands of the age. His plan is an abandonment of the present system of collegiate education, and an adoption of another, based upon a broader constituency, and appealing to a wider sympathy.

A second method of relieving the institution from its present embarrassments has been proposed, suggested from the view which your Committee has been led to take by the present condition of collegiate education in New-England. If it be the fact that our colleges cannot sustain themselves, but are obliged to make repeated calls upon the benevolence of the community, not because the community is poor and education inordinately expensive, but because, instead of attempting to furnish scientific and literary instruction to every class of our people, they have furnished it only to a single class, and that by far the least numerous; if they are furnishing an education for which there is no remunerative, but, even at the present low prices, a decreasing demand; if they are, not by intention, but practically, excluding the vastly larger portion of the community from advantages in which they would willingly participate, and are thus accomplishing but a fraction of the

good which is manifestly within their power, then it would seem that relief must be expected from a radical change of the system of collegiate instruction. We must carefully survey the wants of the various classes of the community in our own vicinity, and adapt our courses of instruction, not for the benefit of one class, but for the benefit of all classes. The demand for general education in our country is pressing and universal. The want of that science, which alone can lay the foundation of eminent success in the useful arts, is extensively felt. The proportion of our young men who are devoting themselves to the productive professions is great, and annually increasing. They all need such an education as our colleges, with some modifications in their present system, could very easily supply. Is there not reason to believe that, if such an education were furnished, they would cheerfully avail themselves of it?

Were an institution established with the intention of adapting its instruction to the wants of the whole community, its arrangements would be made in harmony with the following principles:—

1. The present system of adjusting collegiate study to a fixed term of four years, or to any other term, must be abandoned, and every student be allowed, within limits to be determined by statute, to carry on, at the same time, a greater or less number of courses, as he may choose.
2. The time allotted to each particular course of instruction would be determined by the nature of the course itself, and not by its supposed relation to the wants of any particular profession.
3. The various courses should be so arranged, that, in so far as it is practicable, every student might study what he chose, all that he chose, and nothing but what he chose. The Faculty however, at the request of a parent or guardian, should have authority to assign to any student such courses as they might deem for his advantage.
4. Every course of instruction, after it has been commenced, should be continued without interruption until it is completed.
5. In addition to the present courses of instruction, such should be established as the wants of the various classes of the community may require.
6. Every student attending any particular course should be at liberty to attend any other that he may desire.
7. It would be required that no student be admitted as a candidate for a degree, unless he had honorably sustained his examination in such studies as may be ordained by the Corporation; but no student would be under any obligation to proceed to a degree, unless he chose.
8. Every student would be entitled to a certificate of such proficiency as he may have made in every course that he has pursued.

The courses of instruction to be pursued in this institution might be as follows:—

1. A course of instruction in Latin, occupying two years.
2. " " in Greek, " "
3. " " in three Modern Languages.
4. " " in Pure Mathematics, two years.
5. " " in Mechanics, Optics, and Astronomy, either with or without Mathematical Demonstrations, one and a half years.
6. " " in Chemistry, Physiology, and Geology, one and a half years.
7. " " in the English Language and Rhetoric, one year.
8. " " in Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, one year.
9. " " in Political Economy, one term.
10. " " in History, one term.

11. A course of instruction in the Science of Teaching.
12. " " on the Principles of Agriculture.
13. " " on the Application of Chemistry to the Arts.
14. " " on the Application of Science to the Arts.
15. " " in the Science of Law.

Some of these courses would require a lesson or lecture every working day of the week, others only two or three in the week. Any Professor might be allowed to conduct the studies of more than one course, if he could do it with advantage to the institution.

Should this idea be adopted, and the instruction given in this college be arranged on these principles, it would be seen that opportunity would be afforded to modify it as experience should prove desirable. Some courses may be abridged or abolished, and others added or extended. The object of the change would be to adapt the institution to the wants, not of a class, but of the whole community. It by no means is to be taken for granted, in a country like our own, that every college is to teach the same studies, and to the same extent. It would be far better that each should consult the wants of its own locality, and do that best for which it possessed the greatest facilities. Here would arise opportunity for diversified forms of excellence; the knowledge most wanted would the more easily become diffused, and the general progress of science would receive an important impulse from every institution of learning in our land.

For the purpose of presenting to our readers President Wayland's entire plan at one view, we subjoin an extract from another portion of the Report, setting forth the relations subsisting between the officers of instruction and the Corporation in the new system:—

The relation existing at present between the Corporation and the instructors in our colleges, so far as it can be gathered from pretty constant practice, is substantially the following:—

The Corporation pledge themselves to the public to furnish all the instruction which is generally demanded in order to qualify a student for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. They appoint Professors for life, who are to give this instruction, and they hold themselves responsible to furnish the Professors with an adequate support; they themselves, by theory, observing from time to time whether their intentions are adequately fulfilled. If an officer's salary be insufficient for his support, be the number of students greater or less, both he and the public may justly charge the Corporation with injustice; and Corporations are frequently so charged, though they have already distributed every dollar of income over which they have any control.

It will at once appear, that if an extended and various system of education, such as has been indicated above, be adopted, the relation of the parties to each other must be made more simple and definite. The Corporation cannot pretend any longer to hold themselves responsible for the support of every Professor; nor can they pretend to oversee him in the discharge of his duty. They have really no means of supporting an instructor, except those derived from the funds committed to their charge by the public. These they can appropriate on some equitable principle to each *Professorship*. The officer who accepts of a Professorship will then be entitled to whatever income is attached to it, and he will look to his fees for instruction for the remainder of his compensation. Like every other man, the instructor will

be brought directly in contact with the public, and his remuneration will be made to depend distinctly upon his industry and skill in his profession.

The Corporation would thus be responsible for the support of the officer of instruction, only to the amount of the funds under its control. It would furnish every instructor with a lecture room, the necessary apparatus, and the use of the library, holding every individual separately responsible for the condition of all the public property intrusted to his care.

In favor of this plan the Report argues, that it will greatly increase the number of students, by offering to a much larger portion of the community the kind of education demanded, and also urges the justice, the expediency, and the necessity of the change proposed.

The Report then passes to the consideration of the subject of collegiate degrees, and arrives at the following conclusions :—

If any equitable rule could be applied to this case, it would be this, that a degree of A. B. should signify the possession of a certain amount of knowledge, and A. M. of a certain other amount in addition. But what shall this amount be? If we mean that our instruction shall be exact, and adapted to the purposes of mental discipline, the number of studies must be reduced. Suppose, then, we select those that shall designate the amount of knowledge required in a candidate for a degree. This however will form but a portion of the studies taught in the University. There may be other branches of knowledge out of this course as valuable, and as truly knowledge, as those included within it. Some of those not in the first course may be substituted for those within it. By adopting in this manner a system of equivalents, we may confer degrees upon a given amount of knowledge, though the kind of knowledge which makes up this amount may differ in different instances. Thus, for instance, suppose a course should be prescribed containing a given amount of Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and Natural and Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, and Rhetoric, as the basis of requirement for degrees. In determining upon equivalent courses, a certain amount of some other study might compensate for Latin or Greek, as a certain amount of some other study might be a compensation for the higher mathematics, or intellectual philosophy, and so of the rest. An arrangement of this kind would seem just, and to us it seems not to be impracticable.

President Wayland's programme of studies is extensive and liberal, embracing a great variety of branches, and admitting any modification which experience may suggest. It has long been apparent that the standard of scholarship in our colleges cannot be raised while all the students continue to study everything.

— Non omnia possumus omnes.

The student can now select from this course of instruction such studies as may be most congenial to his tastes, or best adapted to his wants in after life, and become distinguished for his scholarship in each branch attempted. Collegiate

education, conducted on this principle of the division of labor according to the capacities and tastes of the student, must soon elevate the standard of all the higher forms of learning throughout the community; though the number who attempt many studies will be diminished, yet the number who become eminent scholars in what they do study will be much increased.

We feel a strong assurance that the different departments in college will gain much by this arrangement. The officers of instruction will no longer be obliged to perform the unwelcome task of trying to teach young men what they are unable or unwilling to learn. Each Professor will now impart his instructions to minds eager to receive them, and will have the pleasure of seeing students around him whose scholarship will reflect honor upon themselves, upon their instructors, and upon the University.

Moreover, we believe this system, by allowing the students to select their own studies in the main, will exert an influence very favorable to healthful intellectual development. The action of the mind is always more invigorating when brought to bear on subjects in which the learner is interested.

We are highly pleased with the programme of studies in all respects, save in the provision which it makes for instruction in the English language and general history,—the very departments for which both the interests of education and the growing tastes of the community require that even ampler arrangements be made than have hitherto existed. The acquisition of power in English composition, the formation of a pure and just style, the development of a correct literary taste, and the acquaintance with the best masters of English literature in the different periods of its progress,—these are certainly among the highest and noblest of the objects to be accomplished by a collegiate education. If such an education be designed to confer any superior advantages whatever, we know not where they are to be found unless it be in attainments like these. We may indeed be told that discipline is the great aim of education. But is not the cultivation of the taste and the imagination deserving the name of discipline? Must intellectual training be confined to a part only, and that not the highest part, of the faculties of the human mind? Besides, what is discipline worth as an instrument of power, if it is not able to express itself in attractive and stirring language? What value is to be attached by an educated man to a metaphysical distinction, or a moral maxim, or a scientific truth, which he has no power to express in words, or to

commend with interest and effect to others? Indeed, were we called upon to designate the universal and unfailing characteristic of a truly liberal education, that one to which every study and every precept should in some degree be tributary, we should without hesitation point to the power of writing and speaking the English language with beauty and force, with spirit and effect, for the various purposes and on the various occasions which present themselves in life. For it is through this medium alone that the disciplined intellect utters its cogent reasonings, and teaches its impressive lessons; that the cultivated imagination pictures forth its images of beauty and loveliness; and that the classic taste conveys for our instruction and delight the glorious thoughts which it has culled from the treasures of Grecian and Roman lore.

We confess our surprise also at the brief period assigned to the study of History, which, next to Christianity, is the greatest teacher of our race. We had expected to see a course of instruction in this department sufficiently extended to occupy the whole time of a Professor of History. But if it is designed that this branch shall be pursued, as it often is, as a mere record of the dead past, an old programme of the funeral processions of the nations, this "one term" of the Report is just one term too long. But we anticipate no such teaching. History is already beginning to be studied in our colleges in a philosophic spirit, and to be regarded as the record of the ever unfolding life of humanity. Humanity never dies. For ages, generation after generation has passed away like receding waves, but their places have been continually filled by a fresh wave from out the everlasting fountain of being. Thus every new generation, on its entrance into active life, comes into possession of an inheritance accumulated by the intellectual and moral labors of the ages transmitted as its patrimonial estate. And never did a generation of men emerge upon the historic field amid so rich an accumulation of materials as that just now entering into the active offices of life. Never did the orators and statesmen who occupy seats in our legislative halls and the councils of the nation more need or more disregard the lessons of History. Where but to our colleges shall we look for aid to check this dangerous spirit now pervading the nation?

The Professor of History now surveys the historic field from many points of observation, combining all his views into one harmonious whole, illustrating the life of that portion of humanity which is past, for the purpose of making it instructive to that which is to come. The facts in relation

to man, his origin, races, and monumental antiquities, his migrations, settlements, and wars, his laws, governments, and institutions, his languages, literatures, and arts, his commerce, manufactures, and political economies, must be gathered on the broadest scale, collated with a nicer discrimination, and arranged under new and vaster generalizations, in order to discover more certain laws of the development of civilization, which shall throw their predictive light with a clearer precision into the future. Thus studied, "History is Philosophy teaching by example."

We cannot take leave of this Report without a word on the character and the prospects of Brown University. Every college in New-England, and most of the colleges in the United States, are under the entire control of some particular religious denomination. The charter of no one of these, except that of Brown University, *secures* to several leading sects of Christians the *right for ever* to share in the administration of its affairs. The college is more than once denominated in its charter a "liberal and catholic institution," "for the education of youth in the vernacular and the learned languages, and in the liberal arts and sciences."

She is now about to enter upon a new era in her history, and is henceforth, we trust, to be placed upon a level with the best endowed colleges in New-England. She will possess the means of giving as thorough and liberal an education as can be imparted at any institution in this country, and to secure this result she only asks of her friends the liberal aid and generous co-operation which her past renown and her long career of public usefulness so fully deserve.

ART. VIII.—THE POPE'S RETURN TO ROME.

THE road from Naples to Rome leads you over the southwestern slope of the Alban Mount, and as you issue from the gate of Albano beneath the shadow of Pompey's tomb, your eye runs over the Campagna along a line of arches, towers, and nameless ruins, till it rests upon the domes and palaces of the Eternal City. The descent itself is a gentle declivity, with olive orchards and vineyards clustering thickly around it at the summit and midway, but gradually growing thinner as you approach its base, till a short turn and sharper fall bring you out upon the treeless expanse of the Campagna. At what-

ever hour you cross it, whether at early dawn, or at noon, or amid the gathering shadows of twilight, it is a still and lonely scene. Now and then you may meet a line of carters with their brigand hats and jingling bells, bringing wine from Genzano or Villettri; or a traveller may roll by you in his lumbering coach, with his pert courier calmly slumbering without, while master and mistress calmly slumber within. But still the scene is unchanged. The postillion's shrill cry and the jingling bells are soon lost in the distance, and silence settles over it, deep and solemn as before. The three or four houses by the wayside are tinged with the moss of centuries, and the peasant's hut is built in tombs. It is no place for white cottages with shading elms before the doors, and rosy children playing in the shade. The trim garden would shrink and wither like a rose bush in the desert. Solemn thoughts are its natural occupants, and thirty centuries of history and tradition overshadow it like a cloud.

On the night of the twenty-fourth of November, 1848, a travelling carriage, with the arms and livery of Bavaria, was seen hastening along the ascent. The postillion cracked his whip and cheered on his panting steeds. *Che prescia!* exclaimed the peasant as he paused to let them pass, and then quietly resumed his song. From time to time there is an anxious glance from the carriage window, and a few hurried words to the footman on the box. And now it reaches the gate of the old town, rattles over the pavement, stops an instant at the post-house to take fresh horses, and then hurrying off, as it came, with mysterious haste, disappears in a moment behind a turn in the road.

Sixteen months pass away, slowly for some, but oh, for others with what winged speed! sixteen months of rapid change, of bright promise, and firm resolve, and glowing patriotism, and spreading hopes,—then war and self-devotion, and deeper, darker gloom. The old town is filled with a motley throng: peasants from Castel Gandolfo and Rocca di Papa, and barefooted friars from Palazzola. The Capuchins have come down their steep hill without pausing to gaze on the dreamy Campagna, or the blue Mediterranean beyond. But chiefly there are priests with triumph in their faces, and soldiers in foreign uniforms, and servants in gorgeous liveries elbowing the throng with lordly stride. Here and there you might see a lowering brow, or a little knot where cautious glances are given and ominous mutterings heard: but few heed the murmurers except some dark-looking men with stiff chapeau-bras and white arm knots. Look at them closely, and you will see that the days of the sbirri have returned.

But hark! there is a sound of wheels and a clattering of hoofs; and now from the turn below that old fountain winds a royal train. Down sink priest and peasant on bended knee; down with rattling muskets the long file of soldiery. A man of gentle aspect, and but little past the midway of life, puts forth his arm from the carriage window and blesses the kneeling multitude. There is a mingling of confused voices, a waving to and fro of the compact mass. Guards in rich uniform and mounted on tall, black horses, close around the carriage; an old man, with his breast thickly studded with orders and crosses, takes post at the right, and on moves the array with rattling speed, down the long slope and over the broad pavement of the Appian.

Of what is he thinking, that mild-faced man, before whom the multitude bows like the grain field to the breeze? Is it a flash of joy that lights up his pallid features? Is that working of the lip the thrilling play of a smile of triumph? Does he recall the last time that he crossed this road,—that gloomy November night,—his doubtful gaze before him and those anxious glances behind? It is no time for thought with this rattling of wheels and clattering hoofs. And now he hears the deep-toned bell of the Capitol ringing out a triumphal peal. St. Peter's and St. John's and St. Mary's take it up, and in a moment comes the booming gun from St. Angelo, till the whole air rings with the swelling sounds, that spread and break in thousand reverberations from every echo of the seven hills. No time this for thought.

But day is over—over with its dizzy joys, its feverish haste, its falsehoods and its care. His pulse settles down to its natural beat, the flush fades from his cheek, the flash of excitement dies away in his eye. He is alone in his royal closet: the purple hangings, the carved and gilded chair, pressed ere-while by Gregory and Pius and Leo: the little table on which words have been written that went forth a blessing or a curse to the remotest limits of Christendom; that had opened the prison door, or loosened the axe in its fatal groove. From his window he can see the stars looking down in solemn stillness on Michael Angelo's dome, or that silent* column which once reared its pointed brow beneath the skies of Egypt; he can hear the gushing fall of Bernini's fountains,—solemn, soothing, melting sights and sounds. No one is with him: he sees and hears them alone. Will thought come now? Will he see nothing in that star-light but its silvery gleam? Hear nothing

* Those who are familiar with Rome, will remember that there are no hieroglyphics on the Vatican obelisk.

in those waters but their wave-like flow? Has not death been here since he listened to them last? Have no sounds but winds and waters disturbed the midnight air? Naught moistened those stones but the dews and the rains of heaven? Alas! this is the secret of the heart, which God reads, and man can at best but dimly divine.

Will he think? We all feel that we should think; that the past would lie on our hearts like a mountain, and the future rise before us like phantoms in the mist. But the royal closet is hardly a place for sober meditation, and flattery watches at the threshold to guard it from unwelcome visitors. Americans, with all the news and opinions of the day pouring in hourly upon them through a hundred avenues, little know how completely a sovereign may be cut off from the people that he governs. Even in constitutional governments where everything is more or less a subject of discussion, it is seldom that every version finds its way to the royal presence. But in absolute monarchies nothing short of an unbending will and sleepless watchfulness on the part of the monarch can secure him from the thousand arts, by which ministers and courtiers combine to hide or pervert the truth. The Pope hardly ever sees a foreign newspaper: his time is too precious, the papers too crowded with useless details; an abstract is all that one with so many cares can find time to read, and that abstract is carefully prepared by a confidential secretary in the bureau of the Governor and Minister of Police. But will they dare to suppress or even to miscolor acknowledged facts? When the French Revolution of 1830 came to startle all Europe, there was no news from France for a week or more in the Florence Gazette. At last, when the first excitement was over and the new government quietly organized, room was found for a short paragraph, and the good people of Tuscany were told that his Majesty had taken his usual ride. But had the Florence Gazette been the only record of that eventful week, they would never have known whether that Majesty was Louis Philippe or Charles the Tenth. Now if the police would dare to do this for Florence, where there was fifty times more liberty than in any other part of Italy, and for the people for whom private letters and even the first chance traveller might reveal the fraud, think what the police of Rome might dare for a sovereign who hears and sees nothing but what his ministers choose.

Little, therefore, is to be expected from the personal meditations of Pius IX. even if he were disposed to meditate. But the Papal throne is not a very favorable place for medi-

tation. It is not surrounded, it is true, by the fascinations of a purely temporal throne,—by that unceasing round of occupation and amusement, of grave cares and dignified frivolities, which make a prince's life, according as nature has endowed him with quick or with sluggish sensibilities, either the giddy whirl of a top, or the monotonous oscillation of a pendulum. But though reviews, and court balls, and speeches from the throne, and a royal progress through loyal states may turn a prince's head, yet there is still some chance for his heart. For when the crown has gone back to the jewel office, and the throne given place to a chair, nature sometimes pleads successfully for her rights and the monarch, for the moment, becomes a man. Natural feelings will find their way even through robes of state, and bring him within the pale of human sympathies, by subjecting him to the law of human affections. He may have brothers and sisters, and perhaps too a mother, and slight as these ties are amid so many repulsive elements, they still form a link with human kind. And then that domestic circle of his own, the source of our noblest efforts, the scene of our purest enjoyments, which moulds the will by gentle influences and tempers the sterner conceptions of mind by the refining inspirations of the heart: a wife, not always indeed the woman of his choice, but still his wife, the mother of his children, the being through whom he looks forward to the future with a parent's hopes, and learns to contemplate with softer emotions, a tomb that will be moistened by his children's tears.

But for a priest there are no such ties. Natural affections have no hold upon a man who has sworn war upon nature; and all those blessed sympathies, which are God's most precious gift, must be carefully rooted out from his insulated heart. He must learn to look upon the world as a fiery furnace, where every step may precipitate him into unquenchable flames and every natural impulse is a lure to destruction. Let us take him at the very first step, when the inflexible will of father or guardian has marked him out for the Church: a rosy, chubby boy, full of frolic and glee, and who, would you but let him, might strew your whole pathway with sunbeams. Brother and sister have their toys and their gala dress,—those bright, rich colors that look like a fairy world to the eye of a child. But the abbatino must wear the black cassock and the three-cornered hat. Brother has learnt to ride, and gallops briskly off on his frisky little pony; but he must sit demurely in a corner of the old coach, or take a sober walk with the hobbling tutor. Brother has learnt to fence and to dance and to make a

winning bow, and if he begins to find out that there is some difference between the smile of a pretty miss and the boisterous merriment of his own sex, it is all very well ; but he, even though his heart should be full to overflowing, and all the indefinite longings and thrilling intimations of early feeling should crowd upon it till his pulses throb and his brain reels, must put the firm hand of reason there, and hold it fast till every natural pulsation has ceased. And what art thou when this victory has been won? Art thou nearer to God, because thou art so far removed from man? Does heaven look more lovely because thou hast suppressed every genial feeling of earth? Will thy heart rise up to thy Maker with purer gratitude and more fervent devotion because thou hast renounced thy portion of life's blessings? Art thou fitter to look upon sorrow and pain because thou comest from a solitary chamber? Canst thou take the cares of the heavy laden more directly to thy heart, because thou hast left no place there for the feelings from which the heart derives its power?

But tell this solitary being, around whom you have so sedulously woven this iron band, that although he must renounce domestic life, yet public life is still open to him; that though he must not hope to be loved, yet he can be feared and obeyed; that while his affections slumber, his mind may be displayed on an ample field; and that pride and ambition may restore what this outrage upon nature has taken away. How quickly will he find charms in the bishop's mitre, and look with more than holy longings on the cardinal's hat! How early will he learn to envy the canon's stall and raise a furtive glance even to the splendors of the tiara! And has he no thoughts for the solemn duties of his vocation, no hours of secret rapture in the contemplation of the sublime truths and sacred mysteries of his faith? None of those holy transports which, raising the soul from earth, seem to bring it into an immediate and glowing communion with the Deity? The lagging hours creep on, bringing in stated round the warning bell for prayer and meditation and choral chaunt. But the secretary was just opening a dispatch: may he not cut short a prayer or two, to see what tidings it brings him? There is an election in the chapter: will not some canon forget his breviary as he weighs the chances of a new living?

But carry him on through the circle as he firmly mounts the ladder step by step. He has swung the censer, he has raised his voice in the sacristy, he has danced attendance in the hall, he has bowed low in the presence-chamber; his ears have long been familiar with the sweet sound of Monsignore,

and now he rolls in the gilt and purple coach with his three servants dangling behind, and his great black horses pacing majestically along under their purple trappings; and now with beating heart he enters the conclave, and now receives on his throne the adoration of his brethren, and stretches forth his hand to bless the reverent multitude. Henceforth what a life for the chosen minister of God! He rises early and hears mass; a fit beginning of the day if no other thought intrude! His table is covered with letters, memorials, private petitions, all calling for an answer and some for serious examination. Scarce half the task is done when the clock strikes nine, and the Grand Chamberlain descends to his post; the noble guard take their stand in their hall and at the door of the audience chamber; in comes a secretary with a teeming portfolio, the progress of some difficult negotiation, the draft of some dispatch which requires the master's approbation, the outline of some new law which must be weighed, published, and enforced. There is the treasurer too with his estimates and accounts, taxes to be adjusted, deficiencies to fill up, new expenses to provide for,—a fearful array of figures even to a practised eye; then the governor with decisions to approve, and the black book of the police. Meanwhile some ambassador claims an audience,—brings perhaps a royal autograph with the joyful annunciation of the increase of the royal line; a bishop or a missionary just starting for some distant land, wishes to carry with him the blessing of his spiritual father; some curious stranger, having done up all the other sights, comes to complete his list by a sight of the Pope.

At last it is all over, and beneath the canopy of state, at his little table, which not even the Emperor can share, he receives from kneeling attendants his solitary meal. It is the hour of relaxation, sometimes even of mirth. Now seize thy time, thou lucky wight who hast access to the monarch's repose,—this is the favorable moment; be ready with the jest, the well-turned tale, neither too short nor too long for royal ears; profit by the propitious occasion, and when the relaxed brow and complacent eye betoken that inward calm, that gentle excitation which the grateful taste and odor of well assorted viands diffuses through the wearied frame, push firmly, yet with discreet discernment, the well-timed petition. Who can deny under such benign influences? A cool siesta then atones for the early breaking of his slumbers and fits him for his walk or ride. Private audiences, official duties, congregations and reports close the day, and evening may sometimes leave him an hour for a book or a friend. And mingled with this

daily round come the great ceremonies of the Church, the solemn festivals with their cumbersome pomp, masses, benedictions, and processions, the functions of the bishop crowding in upon the functions of the king; and when his weary head sinks upon its pillow, on what can he look back in all this benumbing round, that has added to the stock of his human sympathies, or called forth a feeling that was not centred in self?

Yet there have been great and good men in the cardinal's robe and pontiff's chair; men who have passed through this icy ordeal unfrozen; favored beings for whose hearts the law of charity had a healing power, and who felt too deeply what holy things the affections are, to suffer their own to grow torpid, even in the insulation to which their calling condemned them. We never can think of these men without feeling very sad. It is so sad to see a human being cut off from the natural sympathies of his kind; condemned to seek a compensation for natural affections in devotion to his caste, and struggling all the while with irrepressible kindness which vainly seeks or fears to choose an object. It is sad enough to look upon a strong, healthy man limping along on a mutilated limb; but what loss that the body can suffer can compare with this mutilation of the soul?

Now it is this mutilated man, surrounded by men mutilated like himself, that is to decide the fate of nearly three millions of human beings, fathers, mothers, husbands,—hearts throbbing with affections that he has never known, and glowing with aspirations that he can never share.

His first feeling is a feeling of triumph: 'The victory is mine. Rebellion has tried its utmost and failed, and after an ignominious flight and sixteen months of exile, I press once more my own throne, an independent sovereign.' But in what light will he look upon the men, who, but a few months ago, were exulting in his humiliation? If he pardons them as a priest, can he pardon them as a king? If he forgives their hatred of his temporal power, can he pass over their contempt for his spiritual sovereignty? The two conflicting elements are ever in presence, a constant, inevitable, irreconcilable antagonism. And through this antagonism the past, instead of an instructive lesson, becomes a cause of bitter irritation, which will manifest itself in a thousand ways, now by open revenge and now by covert persecution, by great acts and by little acts, growing, like jealousy, by what it feeds on, till it can be borne no longer, and the question is brought back again to its starting point—the dungeon or the bayonet.

But suppose, for a moment, that this is not so. Suppose that Pius IX., reading clearly in the future, is prepared to accept the principles of a liberal policy, and carry them out sincerely. Suppose that the enlarged views and noble motives once attributed to him, were attributed to him justly, and that he really wishes to be that regenerator which he was once proclaimed. How will he begin? Where will he find support? Whom can he trust?

His natural, we might say his prescribed advisers, are the cardinals,—the men with whom he once felt and acted, whose counsels and wishes he shared, from whose midst and by whose voices he was raised from subject to sovereign, and who, when his course is run and he sleeps with his predecessors of that long line which runs so far backward into the mists of time, will be called again to select from among themselves a new successor to the successor of the apostles. Surely none can feel the same interest in the welfare of the Holy See, none can be more deeply or more directly affected by the mistakes or the wisdom of its chief.

We do not remember the exact number of the cardinals, who form at this moment the Sacred College, but we believe that it is not far from the canonical number of seventy. There are men of all ages among them, from thirty to ninety, some of whom have slowly worked their way upwards through a toilsome path of civil and ecclesiastical preferments, while others have briskly frisked up the ladder under the shadow of a prince's robe or a patron's smile. Consequently there must be a great variety of character, both by the original law of nature and the hardly less inflexible law of habit and education. The man, who began life in the ante-chamber, will bring some heart-burnings with him which one who started from the cabinet never knew. The cautious diplomatist, long trained in the wiles and artifices of court, skilled to pursue his aim through all the mazes of intrigue, and unravel the crooks and tangles of human policy, will hardly look upon things with the same eye as his brother from the cloister, whose starting ambition was a guardian's chair,* and his textbook of life the revelations of the confessional. But still in one respect they are all alike: the same law of domestic exclusion weighs upon them all, and hardens them all equally to the sympathies of husband and father.

It is easy to see that a body of this kind will split up into parties just as easily as a body of laymen. They will have

* The head of a convent is called the *Guardian*.

their dislikes and their preferences, their wishes and their convictions, their apprehensions and their doubts, points upon which they can yield a little, and points upon which they will not move a hair's breadth, like any other men. But here again there is a point upon which all must agree, for they are all bound alike by habit, by position, and by allegiance, to uncompromising resistance to even the shadow of encroachment upon the dignity and the power of the Church. The Church is the source of all their power, the object of all their ambition. Their lives are absorbed in hers, their fortunes depend upon her fortune; they grow with her growth and strengthen with her strength, and if trials and dangers and persecutions come upon her, they too must share them all.

In every project of reform, therefore, the first question for them is its bearing upon the Church. And there are men among them well skilled in detecting the remotest bearings of everything that touches their order. Begin where you may, an intuitive perception warns them of their danger. They have no need of the flash to tell them that the gathering cloud will burst in thunder. In other things they are mere men, and you may blind them as easily as anybody else; but here they are armed in proof, and habit and education have so interwoven the spirit of jealous watchfulness with all the functions of life, that it would be folly to think of taking them off their guard.

And hence if you expect them to accept your reform, you must take care that it leave the Church untouched. They care but little for an old abuse: habit has made it tolerable, and after all it does not touch the essence of things. But innovation is an unpardonable sin, and no one can foretell how far it may extend. And hence too every reform, fettered and hedged round with restrictions, must fall short of its object, becomes a palliative instead of a cure, cuts off a few withered shoots, but leaves the sapless trunk to mock the sunbeam and crumble piecemeal in the tempest. Such reforms can never reach the great body of society. They are not meant to meet the wants of the mass, but to avert the dangers of the sovereign. They leave a chasm betwixt layman and ecclesiastic, and pretend to bridge it over with a rotten plank; and as the two bodies stand on the opposite brinks and look down into its depths, and measure the interval that separates them from one another, they feel more deeply than ever how little they have or ever can have in common.

We should expect little good counsel from the cardinals,

then, in such a juncture as this, for we believe them to be wedded to an abuse which comprises all other abuses. But the cardinals themselves are divided. There is disunion in the Sacred College. Sixty or seventy men of different tempers and different habits of thought cannot always think alike in the presence of such momentous events. Some feel that things like those of the last twenty months could not have come without a cause, and that something must be done at the root as well as among the branches. Others would clasp the columns with Samson's embrace and perish amid the ruins rather than yield an inch. The former claim to belong to the party of progress, and if you will but strike out half the meaning of the word, you may allow their claim. There is a man among them who bore the name of a liberal till he grew tired of waiting, and at last cast it aside to open the path of promotion. Could a clear mind enlarged by extensive cultivation, a sound judgment strengthened by observation and experience, feelings not yet wholly benumbed by insulation, and an ambition that saw something beyond the narrow circle of personal aggrandizement, have preserved him from the thralldom of his caste, he might have done great things for his country in this hour of her need. But he has reached too giddy a height to look firmly on the prospect below, and gone too far not to feel what a fascination there is in the gamester's stake. He is not afraid of material reforms, and he knows as well as any man how common minds may be lulled into complacent slumber, by ministering to their material wants. He would even go further, and recognise man's right to a certain share of the means of enjoyment which he creates. He would throw open seaports to every flag, free commerce from her restrictions, let the producer select his market and the consumer get his supplies wherever he can do it to the best advantage, hold out rewards to the farmer and facilities to the manufacturer, foster industry in every form, break in upon the silence of the untilled plain and mountain pass with the shrill whistle of the rail-car, and, like the hunter of the prairies, meet the advancing conflagration with a flame of his own. But while he thus flattered active spirits by the consciousness of useful exertion and soothed the sensual by the daily enlargement of their means of gratification, he would take your mind into his own guardianship and mould it into a pliant instrument of his will. There would be schools, for instruction is a duty; but you would learn nothing there but what he saw fit, for who would there be to tell you that knowledge is a right? Libraries would be thrown open, and even

the secrets of archives boldly published to the world ; but a subtler poison than art ever drew from plant or mineral, would diffuse its venom through your frame, till Truth herself was transformed to your jaundiced eye.

Midway between these two classes you will find that never-failing element of retrocession, the men of conciliatory expedients and half-way concessions. They form a large proportion, men of timid minds and contracted views, not without a certain sense of justice, but wholly devoid of those strong convictions which find a sufficient support in conscience and an ample compensation in the consciousness of duty fulfilled. These men would yield something, for they see that if they do not yield it voluntarily, it will be taken from them by force. They would pardon the past, for they feel what bitter repentance vengeance may prepare for the future. But they dare not look the evil in the face. It is not in their nature to meet it boldly, either by open opposition or by laboriously turning the current that they cannot stem. Many of them are old men, who know that they are near their end, and feel that if the danger can be averted for yet a little while they will soon be beyond its reach. Others are young, and were they beings of this world would still have life before them. But they are too near the top of the ladder. Their active career is almost run. They have no inward stimulant to exertion, and that from without has ceased to act upon them. Some fortuitous combination may perhaps lift them a little higher, or even raise them to the topmost round. But all this is so doubtful that it is scarcely worth the thought, and the days, as they flow on in grateful succession, bring too many tranquil pleasures with them to be sacrificed to an uncertain to-morrow.

There are three classes then, among the Pope's natural advisers, two at the extremes and one in the useless midway : one for absolute conservatism, one for material reform, and one for anything that shall preserve some of the shadow and as much as may be of the substance of their actual position. Now how will the Pope decide between them? What harmonious action can he derive from such conflicting elements? With Antonelli comes proscription, confiscation, the dungeon ; with Marini, great changes in material life, activity, industry, enterprise, better tribunals and better laws,—full room for the body to move in, but stronger fetters for the mind,—no recognition of inalienable rights, a rigorous exclusion of laymen from political power, and a jealous enforcement of ecclesiastical privileges ; with the third, nothing fixed, no decided aim,

a wavering to and fro betwixt irreconcilable extremes, a concession to-day and to-morrow a restriction, a life of palliatives and expedients, of contradiction and vacillation. What has freedom to hope from men like these?

But the difficulty does not end here. The Pope has returned to Rome, it is true; but how did he get there? Ask the republican bayonets of France. Ask that banner which has waved triumphant on a thousand battle-fields, and been freedom's surest pledge in the day of her trial. But we will not speak of this now. We cannot bear to dwell upon that darkest page of modern annals, that foul stain to humanity, the French invasion of Rome. It is with a sinking of the heart, a loathing like that with which we turn from some hideous deformity, that we turn from that scene of hypocritical mockery and worse than royal fraud. But in the moment of triumph France and Austria met face to face, each with her own interpretation of the past and her own plans for the future,—Austria firmly resolved to maintain her predominance in Italy, which can only be done by the bayonet, and France, reckless indeed of her promises, but unwilling to submit to a policy which can only lead to her own ruin by the aggrandizement of her rival. Here then is another knot for the Pope. Will he cut it, or can he untie?

It would be useless to add that we feel very little confidence in the future policy of Pius IX. Heaven forbid that we should judge him harshly, for he has done things which no bad-hearted man could have done. But there is an inherent vice in the Papal constitution which neither Pope nor cardinal can root out. We seldom indulge in minute political speculation. There is too much uncertainty about it to suit our more positive tastes. You may map it all out as neatly as if you could use rule and compass, and the very next hour may contradict your most plausible conjectures. We should as soon think of calculating the chances of an individual's life and grounding a theory upon our calculation. But though nobody would care to hazard much on such a chance, yet everybody feels perfect confidence in his life insurance. The individual may live or die; but the great law of mortality remains unchanged. You may not be able to foresee what the caprice of a sovereign or a minister may do, but you know that there are great general laws which both king and minister must obey.

Now there is no law more general in its nature or more invariable in its action, than that a government ceases to be efficient the moment that it ceases to fulfil the conditions of

its institution. If we look back upon the early periods of European history, we shall find governments wholly irreconcilable with our ideas of civil organization, and yet which are full for a time of vigor and vitality. The time passes, and they either sink by slow decay or are compelled by a violent shock to give place to some other form. The reason is perfectly evident. It was the force of circumstances that formed them, and as long as they met those circumstances, they were useful and lived. But, meanwhile, society had advanced; knowledge had spread; political ideas had reached classes which they had never reached before; men began to look about them and see how things were, and look within and see how much there was there which the forms under which they lived could never develop. From this moment the sympathy betwixt governor and governed ceased. There was no magic in a name which spoke only of the past, while all minds were full of the future; no healing power in memory to make them forget that hope too is a birthright. But we need not go back to the past. This is a daily lesson. Life is filled with it. We may read it everywhere around us, in great things and in little things, in public events and in the calmer records of the domestic circle. The infant drops its coral as soon as its teeth are cut. The child throws away its toy when it can get into the open air. Let your boy once mount a pony, and then try to bring him back to his rocking-horse. Let man once feel that his mind is his own, and then fasten your shackles upon it if you can. Some may slumber on, it is true, in contented apathy, caring for little else as long as their coarser wants are supplied. There are grown-up children as well as little children. We are not speaking of them. But, thank God! though individuals may slumber, the mass still moves, and the law of our nature, in spite of all that we can do to pervert it, is still onward and upward.

Try the Papal government by this law and see how sadly it fails. What is there in it on which we can build a hope? Which of the infinite wants of our intellectual nature does it meet? Which of those deep sympathies, which bind the citizen to his country, does it cherish? What great virtues does it call into action? What noble sentiments will expand and bring forth their fruit under its fostering influence? What will it do for all those delicate buds of human affection, when the earth itself, which nature formed for a garden, has withered beneath its sway, till stagnant waters have stifled its fertility, and noxious vapors corrupted the atmosphere that was once redolent with pleasant odors and shed

heaven's choicest influences on thousands whose memories we still love and revere?

It is a stationary government. Its primal law is immobility and its highest aim repression. The world around it may change. The subjects over whom it rules may change. The living instruments of its action may change. But its nature can never change, and whether it fall to-morrow or struggle on through another century, it will still continue the same. There is no expansion in it,—no principle of life to flow upwards from the root and drink in nourishment from sunshine and shower. Hence wherever it meets the principle of life, it meets a mortal enemy. They cannot exist together. The living plant will send out its hardy roots and undermine the changeless mass, or shrink bruised and stunted by the intolerable burthen. Layman and ecclesiastic cannot share the throne. The triumph of the one is the defeat of the other.

It is an unsympathetic government. It has none of the qualities that endear or the sympathies that move. It draws its principles from its own nature, and is as cold and as heartless as that nature. It sees mankind from a false point of view and judges them by a false standard. It has no fellow-feelings for human error, and no pardon but the pardon of the confessional. It can never look with complacency upon the joyousness of an expansive nature or interpret the throbbings of an untainted heart. It commands obedience, but repels that love which makes obedience a pleasure. It tells you that you may confide in its protection, but meets your embraces with a coldness which renders confidence impossible. It is full of honeyed words and affectionate professions, but artful, insincere, and heartless in its actions. It threatens where it should expostulate, terrifies where it should allure, condemns where it should pardon, corrupts where it might purify, makes self-debasement the condition of its favor and submission its test of virtue.

It is founded upon a false principle, and lives by the propagation of an error. It traces its origin to an imperial grant, and confirms its pretensions by the apostle's keys. All around it men are saying that governments are made for the people, but in Rome it is still assumed that the people are made for the government. Elsewhere charters and constitutions, the speculations of the closet and the debates of the senate chamber, appeal to the popular will as the source of power; but there common rights are a special privilege, and law the gracious expression of the sovereign mind. Else-

where men preach peace, abolish capital punishments, temporize and negotiate where once they would have appealed to the sword; but there the bayonet is still a holy thing, and a dungeon an eloquent appeal. Thus false to nature, repulsive, vindictive, and incapable of change, can this government stand in an age like ours? We will not count by days or attempt to play the prophet, but it is only when we have ceased to believe in the great law of human progress, that we shall trust the hired *vivats* of April, or believe that the Papal throne has again been firmly planted on the Vatican.

ART. IX.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Lake Superior: Its Physical Character, Vegetation, and Animals, compared with those of other and similar regions. By LOUIS AGASSIZ. With a Narrative of the Tour, by J. ELLIOT CABOT, and contributions by other scientific gentlemen. Elegantly Illustrated. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1850. Large 8vo, pp. 428.

This work commences with an interesting narrative, by J. E. Cabot, of an excursion made for scientific purposes, during the last summer, by Professor Agassiz and several of his scientific friends and students under his instruction, along the northern shore of Lake Superior to its western extremity. The narrative is followed by a series of papers, mostly by Agassiz himself, on the Botany, Zoology, and Geology of the region visited. It might have been expected that these papers would be valuable chiefly as a record of facts, as a collection of observations on a region hitherto but little known. But this is not all that has been done in the present instance. The publication of these observations has been made the occasion of presenting some generalizations of great interest and value. The author has stood for the last fifteen years in the very front rank of the promoters of natural science, and these generalizations are the results of investigations made by himself or under his direction. If some of his conclusions are not at once accepted, it will still be admitted that the questions are fairly stated and fairly discussed.

We cannot be expected to give an extended account of these results, and it is unnecessary that we should, for every scientific man must have access to the work itself. A few of the conclusions, which are interesting and new, may be briefly noticed.

It has long been known that the floras of the United States and Europe are very similar, but that in most cases the similar species are not identical. A careful comparison is made of the vegetable species found on the northern shores of Lake Superior with European Alpine and sub-Alpine species, and it is found that they are all very similar, that about one third of the species in the higher orders are identical, and that in the lower orders there is absolute sameness. The specified localities in Europe are however fifteen degrees south of the isothermal line on which they are found here, but at an altitude such as to give them on the two continents essentially the same climate.

After specifying other instances of this adaptation of species to climate and other conditions, the conclusion is, that

The geographical distribution of organized beings displays more fully the direct intervention of a supreme intelligence in the plan of the creation than any other adaptation in the physical world. Generally the evidence of such an intervention is derived from the benefits, material, intellectual, and moral, which man derives from nature around him, and from the mental conviction which consciousness imparts to him that there could be no such wonderful order in the creation without an omnipotent Ordainer of the whole. This evidence, however plain to the Christian, will never satisfy the man of science in that form. In these studies evidence must rest upon direct observation and induction, just as fully as mathematics claims the right to settle all questions about measurable things. There will be no *scientific* evidence of God's working in nature until naturalists have shown that the whole creation is the *expression of a thought*, and not the *product of physical agents*.

Another evidence of thought, of a plan in nature continuously followed out, is exhibited in some of the principles of Embryology. Prof. Agassiz has almost created this branch of knowledge, and his investigations prove that animals become more perfect by each structural change which they undergo, whether it be embryonic or by later metamorphosis. It is also found that the several classes of animals as they have existed at different periods in the earth's history are developed in different degrees, those of a later creation being more perfect, and that the order in which these successive developments have been made in a succession of species, is the same that is now observed in the development of organs in the same individual, in the embryo or by metamorphosis. The order of changes by which a bird, for instance, acquires its perfect state, was an order established when birds were first created, and has been followed in the successive improvements of successive species to the present time. Mere physical laws, admitting the absurdity that they may effect changes, could not under every variety of condition have pursued an unchangeable plan; or if so, then we have no contest about words: these laws are a Being, possessing both intelligence and unchangeableness, high attributes of Deity.

The object of the work, however, is not Natural Theology, but physical Science, and this law of development is here employed, as the author insists that it may be universally, to perfect zoological classification. The main features of a system based upon animal organization were well drawn by Cuvier. To work out the system in detail, the relative importance of organs must be determined. The order of embryonic development furnishes us the means of determining, and renders the order of arrangement in allied families no longer a matter of caprice, and this rule has been applied in fixing the position of several new species of animals from the Lake region.

We notice a single point more in regard to the age of the American continent. It has for some years been the opinion of geologists that North America was a continent, with substantially its present outline and limits, long before Europe had emerged from the ocean. These investigations in the region of Lake Superior furnish an unexpected confirmation of this opinion. There has been a continuance here of the conditions favorable to the perpetuation of certain animal and vegetable forms, while in Europe they have been destroyed by the changes connected with its elevation above the level of the sea. They are therefore found in a fossil state there, while they belong to the existing fauna and flora of America. Naturalists of the old world visit us, and pronounce our new world "old-fashioned."

The geological structure of the region of Lake Superior is ably discussed, the phenomena of northern drift explained on the author's well known glacial theory, and an entirely new view is given of the peculiar distribution of copper and its ores around the Lake. But we have not room to notice

more in detail this interesting volume. Though designed to be a strictly scientific work, yet the importance of the subjects discussed, the freedom from unnecessary technicalities, the clearness of statement, and the admirable typography, must secure for it a wide circulation among all classes of readers.

History of the Polk Administration. By LUCIEN B. CHASE, a Member of the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Congresses. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 8vo, pp. 512.

The Administration of Mr. Polk was one of the most important and remarkable in the history of the country, and, whatever may be the issue of the events which distinguished it, will in all future time figure largely in our annals. We are glad therefore to see that Administration illustrated in the work before us. We do not think indeed that the time has yet come for passing confident judgments;—that time may very likely be far in the future;—but the time has come for collecting the facts and opinions on which those judgments are to rest. The author of this work was a devoted partisan of Mr. Polk, and the work is very naturally laudatory of his administration. We have observed, however, gratifying indications of his desire to be accurate and just towards political opponents. The volume concludes with an appendix containing the famous letters of General Scott and Governor Marcy,—the memorials of a personal controversy in which the successful soldier found himself unequal to the accomplished civilian. The work before us is ample in details, and in every respect valuable for reference.

El Dorado; or Adventures in the Path of Empire. By BAYARD TAYLOR, author of "Views Afoot," "Rhymes of Travel," etc. With illustrations by the author. 2 vols., 12mo. New-York: George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

Mr. Taylor is an accomplished tourist, a most agreeable writer, whose former books of travel have made him a favorite with the American public. In the present handsomely printed volumes he has given us the most graphic and spirited sketches we have yet seen of the strange scenes which the year 1849 witnessed on the shores of the Pacific. They are scenes surpassing fable in the interest which they inspire and in the transcendent results to which they are rapidly leading; and in all future ages they will be inseparably associated in history with the foundations of a mighty State, and the commencement of a new era in the civilization of the continent of America. We are glad to find them sketched with so much spirit and effect by one who gazed upon them with the practised eye of an experienced traveller, and at the same time with an earnest and philosophic spirit, which could appreciate their novelty and their importance. Mr. Taylor went to California by the route across the Isthmus of Panama, and returned through Mexico. He visited the gold regions and several of the principal cities of the country, and was present at the sessions of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the new State. The book is illustrated by well executed views of several of the most striking scenes and adventures which he met with along the crowded pathway he travelled; and it contains in an appendix the report on California submitted to the Government of the United States by Mr. T. Butler King. It is, we think, without question, the most interesting and valuable work which has thus far been published relating to the new-found El Dorado of the Pacific.

The Gospel its own Advocate. By GEORGE GRIFFIN, LL. D. 12mo. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

This work is from the pen of a distinguished member of the bar in the city of New-York, and is entitled to great weight, as containing the views entertained by a sagacious and well trained legal mind of the internal evidences of Christianity. Its design is to show that in the precepts which the gospel inculcates, in the theology which it teaches, in the moral spirit which it breathes, and in the conceptions of character which it delineates, is to be found a triumphant argument in favor of the divinity of its origin. In all these attributes the New Testament far transcends every other book which can be found in the literature of the world. Through the power of these attributes it has wrought the mightiest changes in the condition of mankind. The argument thus derived is clearly and forcibly stated by Mr. Griffin, and the unsatisfactory nature of the infidel objections of writers like Gibbon, Voltaire, and Hume is also thoroughly exposed. The book is thus rendered not only a valuable aid to Christian faith, but also a means of useful instruction respecting the conflicts through which Christianity has won its triumphant way to its present dominion in every part of the world.

Historical View of the Languages and Literature of the Slavic Nations; with a Sketch of their Popular Poetry. By TALVI. With a Preface by EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D., LL. D., author of *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, etc. New-York: George P. Putnam.

This work is understood to be from the pen of the learned and accomplished lady of the Rev. Dr. Robinson. This lady's varied acquirements have been known to scholars for some years, but few who have not made her personal acquaintance are prepared to see a work on such a subject from any lady. While we confess our incapacity to judge from personal knowledge of the correctness of the author's views on Slavic language and literature, no one can fail to see that it bears the clear impress of thoroughness and ability on every page. Were this not so obvious, the "imprimatur" of the eminent scholar by whom the preface is written would be sufficient to commend its views to the confidence of all. We welcome the book as a clear addition to the sum of knowledge accessible to English readers.

The gigantic strides of Russia, the fate of Poland, the cry of Panslavism that has recently resounded through Europe, have excited a fearful interest in the Slavonian race throughout the civilized world. Thoughtful men often ask themselves the question, whether the Slavic nations are yet to overflow the Germans of Western Europe as they did the Celts—to form a new stratum of population fresh and vigorous, with a new political and intellectual life? If this shall ever be, the question arises, what will be the nature of the moral and intellectual impulses, tendencies and spirit which these new men will bring? This book helps to answer the question. This alone is enough to secure for it the attention of the best minds. We need only say that the paper and printing are similar to that of all the books that come from Putnam's.

The Unity of the Human Races proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science; with a Review of the Theory of Professor Agassiz. By the Rev. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 12mo, pp. 404.

The author of this volume is a well-known Presbyterian clergyman, a learned man, and a somewhat voluminous writer. The work here undertaken is an early contribution to a discussion which is inevitable, and of which we have no fear. Dr. Smyth, in opposition to Prof. Agassiz, whose theory is

that the same species may have been created in different provinces, contends for the established doctrine of the descent of the human family from one pair, arguing this view on grounds of Scripture, reason, and science. The work is one of real ability, and deserves the attention of those who desire to examine the subject of which it treats. We have not room for an analysis of its contents.

The Scriptural and Historical Arguments for Infant Baptism Examined. By J. TORREY SMITH, A. M. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 24mo, pp. 201.

This small work is divided into two parts, one refuting the argument for Infant Baptism derived from the Covenant of Circumcision, the other that derived from History. It is an able manual, which has already commanded very general approbation, and deserves a wide circulation.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq. With Notes by the Rev. H. H. MILMAN, Prebendary of St. Peter's and Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster. In six vols. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co.

This edition of Gibbon combines the notes of both Guizot and Milman. It is printed on good type and paper, and is furnished at the marvellously low price of 40 cents per volume, bound in muslin. Gibbon has had, perhaps can have, no superior in his department, and it is a happy consideration that the historical learning of the authors of the Notes has rendered him harmless in that portion of his great work where he has ministered to infidelity by failing to do justice to Christianity.

Heroines of the Missionary Enterprise; or, Sketches of Prominent Female Missionaries. By DANIEL C. EDDY. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 12mo, pp. 359.

Harriet Newell, Ann H. Judson, Esther Butler, Elizabeth Hervey, Harriet B. Stewart, Sarah L. Smith, Eleanor Macomber, Sarah D. Comstock, Henrietta Shuck, Sarah B. Judson, Annie P. James, Mary E. Van Lennep, Emily C. Judson, —

“names that must not wither.”

This handsome volume contains sketches of the lives, characters and services of the estimable Christian women above named,—grouped without distinction of sect, as all but one of them are now grouped in heaven, and presented to all Christian people as an illustration of the beneficence of that gospel to whose spread and triumphs their lives were devoted. We are glad to see such an offering; that it will be acceptable to Christians of all denominations, we have no doubt,—and we hope it may minister abundantly to the multiplication of such characters in our churches of every name.

Choix de Poésies pour les Jeunes Personnes. Par MADAME A. COUTAN. 12mo. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

The pieces contained in this volume of selections are taken from a great variety of the chief masters of French poetry in the present and in past ages. It contains several of the most delightful of the minor poems of Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Chateaubriand, Beranger, Florian, and others of the distinguished poets and litterateurs of France, and seems to be admirably fitted to the general design which is expressed in the modest preface of the edi-

tor—to make the young who may study the French language familiar with some of the purest gems of its poetry. In preparing it, we think that Mme. Coutan has made a valuable contribution to the means of teaching French, and we commend it to the attention of all who are engaged either as instructors or as pupils in the acquisition of this essential part of an accomplished education.

Morton Montagu, or a Young Christian's Choice: a Narrative founded on Facts in the Early History of a deceased Moravian Missionary Clergyman. By C. B. MORTIMER. 12mo. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

This little volume, under assumed names, presents the leading events in the life of an excellent and well known Moravian minister. The narrative portrays a very amiable and striking character, formed amidst peculiar trials, and in circumstances which awaken a strong interest in the mind of the reader. It illustrates the mild and submissive spirit which is so often associated with the Moravian faith, and teaches many valuable lessons of Christian duty and zeal. It deserves a place in any library of religious books.

A Pædobaptist Church no Home for a Baptist. By ROBERT J. MIDDLEDITCH, Pastor of the Baptist church at Lyon's Farms, N. J. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 18mo, pp. 47.

A brief, but exceedingly candid and judicious discussion of a subject which, from the growing disregard of infant baptism, is becoming of increasing importance every year. It is a tract suitable for general distribution, and we trust will accomplish a wide and successful ministry.

Montaigne; The Endless Study, and other Miscellanies. By ALEXANDER VINET. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes. By ROBERT TURNBULL. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo, pp. 430.

This volume reproduces portions of the "Vital Christianity," translated a few years ago by Mr. Turnbull, with other selections from Vinet, and essays and notes by the translator. These latter add materially to the interest of the book; indeed they have an independent value, and we regret that we are unable in our present number to acquaint our readers with them more fully. A comparison of Montaigne and Emerson is an ingenious and striking performance, and deserves an extended allusion, which we hope to give in our next.

Discourses on the Rectitude of Human Nature. By GEORGE W. BURNAP, D. D. Boston: William Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 12mo, pp. 409.

The title of these discourses is significant of their theological character. The subject of which they treat, as the author justly remarks, "underlies all theology and enters into all preaching." "It determines the type of all piety; it colors all our views of life." Though we dissent entirely from the theory which the volume develops, and regard its theological views as poorly suited to the wants of *depraved* human nature, we approve the directness and boldness with which the author takes his position, and the consistency with which he traces his principles into their results. Compelled to crowd a large number of book notices into the narrowest limits, we are unable to give an analysis of its views. It covers the entire range of theological topics indicated by its title.

Communion Thoughts. By S. G. BULFINCH. Boston: William Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 12mo, pp. 204.

This volume adds to the merit of being well written a warm, devotional spirit, which commends it to the heart. To us the communion has a higher value and significance than the views of Christ here developed admit, but far as these views go they win upon the heart, and those like-minded with the author will dwell on his pages with satisfaction and benefit. The Meditations in Verse which form Part V. remind us of Keble, though to our taste better than most of the Poems contained in the Christian Year.

ART. X.—INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—The annual meeting of the Missionary Union was held at Buffalo, the Board commencing its sittings May 14, and the Union May 16. The Rev. Dr. E. Tucker, of Illinois, presided over the former, in the absence of the Hon. James H. Duncan, who was detained at Washington by public duties. His Excellency, Gov. Briggs, presided over the Union. The attendance was very large, the place of the meeting inviting a large number of members from the West. Everything relating to the affairs of the Union was reported as in a prosperous condition. The receipts of the year ending March 31, 1850, were \$104,837 20, and the expenditures \$101,447 23;—leaving a balance in favor of the treasury of \$3,389 97, with which the debt existing at the beginning of the year has been reduced to \$21,501 09. Of the receipts \$9,000 were grants from the American and Foreign Bible Society for Bible translation, printing, and distribution in Asia and Europe; \$2,200 from the American Tract Society for Tracts in Europe and Asia; and \$4,000 from the United States Government for the civilization of Indians of North America. The number of missions under the charge of the Union is 17; of stations and out-stations, 329; of missionaries, 56—of whom 52 are preachers; of female assistant missionaries, 57; with 214 native preachers and other assistants; whole number of laborers, 320. The number of churches is 151, with 12,290 members; and of schools 102, with 2,648 pupils; the number of additions to the churches on profession of faith, more than 1,236.

The officers elected were—Hon. George N. Briggs, LL. D., *President*; Rev. Bartholomew T. Welch, D. D., and Rev. Elisha Tucker, D. D., *Vice Presidents*; and Rev. William H. Shailer, *Recording Secretary*. The Board at the meeting succeeding the Union elected officers as follows: *Chairman*, Hon. Ira Harris, LL. D.; *Recording Secretary*, Rev. Morgan J. Rhees; *Executive Committee*, Rev. Baron Stow, D. D., Rev. Rollin H. Neale, Rev. William H. Shailer, Rev. Joseph W. Parker, Rev. Robert E. Pattison, D. D., Hon. Heman Lincoln, and Messrs. S. G. Shipley, J. W. Converse, and Benjamin Smith; *Corresponding Secretaries*, Rev. Solomon Peck, D. D., and Rev. Edward Bright, Jr.; *Treasurer*, Richard E. Eddy, Esq.; *Auditors*, Messrs. Charles D. Gould and Joshua Loring.

AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY.—The eighteenth annual meeting was held in New-York, on Thursday, May 9, 1850, John P. Crozer, Esq., of Pa., one of the Vice Presidents, presiding. The Annual Report was read by Rev. Benjamin M. Hill, Corresponding Secretary. The receipts of the year have been \$26,443 52, and the disbursements \$25,403 46. There has been an increase in the receipts over those of the preceding year of \$4,324 45, besides \$647 43 for the *Home Mission Record*. The number of agents and missionaries in the employ of the Society is 117. They report 949 baptisms, and 33 churches organized. The following officers were elected: *President*, Hon. Isaac Davis, LL. D.; *Vice Presidents*, Messrs. William Colgate and John P. Crozer; *Treasurer*, Mr. Charles J. Martin; Auditor, Mr. Garrat N. Bleecker; *Corresponding Secretary*, Rev. Benjamin M. Hill; *Recording Secretary*, Rev. Edward Lathrop; with fifteen *Managers* residing in New-York and vicinity.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY.—The eleventh annual meeting of the American Baptist Publication Society was held in Philadelphia, May 1. The An-

nual Report was read by Rev. Thomas S. Malcom, Corresponding Secretary. Eighteen new publications have been issued during the year; total on the Society's list 276, of which 78 are volumes. Twenty-one colporteurs have been employed. The receipts for the year were \$23,925 85. The following officers were elected: *President*, Rev. Joseph H. Kennard; *Vice Presidents*, Mr. Thomas Wattson, Hon. James H. Duncan, Rev. Francis Wayland, D. D., Rev. E. E. Cummings, Mr. Albert Day, Hon. Friend Humphrey, Messrs. D. R. Barton, S. N. Kendrick, Rev. G. B. Ide, D. D., Hon. J. M. Leonard, Messrs. S. J. Greswell, James Wilson, Rev. E. G. Robinson, Rev. John M. Peck. *Corresponding Secretary*, Rev. Thomas S. Malcom; *Editorial Secretary*, Rev. J. Newton Brown; *Depository Agent and Assistant Treasurer*, Rev. B. R. Loxley; *Treasurer*, Mr. W. W. Keen. Twenty-five *Managers*, residing in Philadelphia and vicinity, were likewise elected.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.—The Thirteenth annual meeting of the American and Foreign Bible Society was held in New-York, May 22 and 23, Rev. Spencer H. Cone, D. D., President, in the chair. The receipts for the year from all sources were \$41,625 01, and the disbursements \$41,235 33. The Annual Report was read by Wm. H. Wyckoff, Esq. Extraordinary interest was given to the meeting by the question of a revised version of the English Scriptures. The following resolution, after a discussion extending through an afternoon, evening and morning sessions, was passed: "Resolved, That this Society, in its issues and circulation of the English Scriptures, shall be restricted to the commonly received version without note or comment." The Rev. Dr. Cone having been re-elected President, resigned. The following officers were chosen: *President*, Rev. Bartholomew T. Welch, D. D.; *Vice Presidents*, Rev. C. G. Sommers, and twenty others; *Corresponding Secretary*, Rev. Sewall S. Cutting; *Recording Secretary*, Rev. Morgan J. Rhees; *Treasurer*, Mr. Nathan C. Platt; *General Agent*, Rev. J. R. Stone; with twenty-five *Managers* residing in New-York and vicinity. The passing of the above named resolution became the occasion of the subsequent formation of the AMERICAN BIBLE UNION. *President*, Rev. Spencer H. Cone, D. D.; *Vice Presidents*, Rev. Archibald Maclay, D. D., and others; *Corresponding Secretary*, Wm. H. Wyckoff, Esq.; *Recording Secretary*, Mr. E. S. Whitney; *Treasurer*, Mr. William Colgate; with a Board of *Managers* residing in New-York and vicinity.

GERMANY.

Among the consequences of the failure of the late revolutionary movements, and the state of excitement and uncertainty with regard to further political developments, the one most deeply to be regretted is the effect the revolution has had on the literary activity of the German scholars. We see almost all of them in the ranks of political parties, moving in the cloudy regions of undigested political theories; and, whilst they thus busy themselves, neglect their wonted literary pursuits, for which the world is accustomed to pay them the just tribute of sincere admiration. Literature seems for the time being to have sustained a paralyzing check in Germany, and even the fertile field of Theology has produced less of any importance in the last year than in any previous one for half a century. We regret among other things the discontinuance of valuable periodicals, as Tholuck's *Literarischer Anzeiger*, (Literary Advertiser for Theology and Sciences in general,) Richter's *Christlicher Beobachter*, (Christian Observer,) *Sächsische Kirchenzeitung*, (Saxon Church News,) Menzel's *Literaturblatt*, (Literary Criticisms,) *Jenaische Literaturzeitung*, (the world-known standard critical journal, published in Jena since 1804,) *Leipziger Missionsblatt*, Fichte's and Ulrici's *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Kritik*, (Journal of Philosophy and Criticism,) Gräfe's and Clemen's *Pädagogische Zeitung*, (Pedagogical Journal,) Brandes' *Literarische Zeitung*, (Literary News.)

We have never witnessed a similar falling off, and believe ourselves justified in ascribing it to the strange political commotion in Germany. The *Vierteljahrsschrift für Theologie und Kirche* of Lücke and Wieseler (Quarterly Theological and Church Review) has been changed into a monthly. The *Archæologische Zeitung* of Gerhard (Archæological Researches) has been changed into "Denkmäler, Forschungen, und Berichte," (Archæological Monuments, Researches, and Reports,) and is published quarterly.

Among the periodicals which are continued with regularity we quote: *Studien*